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OF
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PROFESSOR SUBHADRA KUMAR SEN MEMORIAL VOLUME

**NUMBER SIXTEEN
2012**



**Department of Linguistics
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

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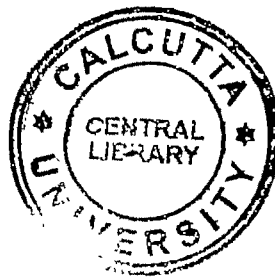
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Edited by
Mina Dan

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Department of Linguistics
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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Edited by

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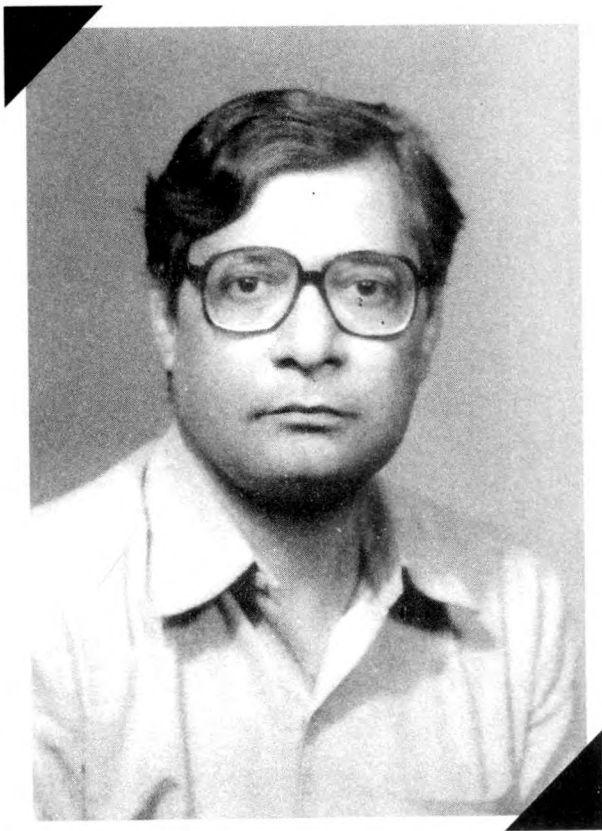
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Subhadra Kumar Sen
[July 3, 1939 - September 5, 2009]

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Editor's note

The current volume, Professor Subhadra Kumar Sen Memorial Volume, is our homage to Late Professor Subhadra Kumar Sen. Professor Sen passed away on September 05, 2009. He was a faculty member in the department of Linguistics till 2004. He retired from the department as the Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics. He entered this department as an undergraduate student of Comparative Philology in 1956. Since then his deep attachment to this department, both as a student and a teacher, and also after his retirement as member of various committees, continued for more than five long decades. We know him as a serious academic, a dedicated educationist, a compassionate teacher, a perfect gentleman, and a warm hearted colleague. He taught many of the present faculty members. Aditi Ghosh writes on him in the in memoriam section.

We lost one more senior faculty member of the department, Dr. Bhabataran Datta, a unique personality with interest in unique areas of language. His close association with the department dates back to 1950. Sunandan Kumar Sen writes on him in the same section.

Beyond the boundary of our department we have lost two eminent linguists, Professor Bhadriraju Krishnamurti and Professor Rajendra Singh, in the recent past. Professor Krishnamurti passed away on August 11, 2012, and Professor Rajendra Singh on August 24, 2012. Professor Krishnamurti taught me at Osmania University, Hyderabad. Afterwards he joined Hyderabad Central University as the Vice-Chancellor. He was not only a distinguished scholar but also an able administrator. His endeavours of institution building were always linked to the social needs of the time. Professor Rajendra Singh was an Indian-Canadian linguist. I am fortunate to have an opportunity to work with him for three weeks at the Central Institute of Indian Languages in 2006. He was an original thinker and an excellent teacher with a fine personality. The sad demise of both the stalwarts created a vacuum in the field of linguistics. Their colossal contribution to South Asian linguistics will be remembered forever by the linguistic community of the present and future time. Probal Dasgupta, Professor & Head, Linguistic Research Unit, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, writes on them in his personal tribute to them.

May the departed souls rest in peace.

In the next section on research articles we have six papers by scholars and faculty members of the department covering various aspects of linguistics.

On the historic occasion of the 150th birth anniversary of the two epoch-making personalities, Rabindranath Tagore (1861 – 1941) and Swami Vivekananda (1863 – 1902) we pay our homage to them in a linguistic way, using the theories and tools of the discipline.

Krishna Bhattacharya in the backdrop of the Foregrounding theory of the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists studies the patterns of parallelism and repetition in Tagore's songs and identifies nine types of parallelism and five types of repetition therein.

Sumita Bhattacharya (Bhaduri) analyses the Bengali used by Swami Vivekananda especially in his letters in the light of code-switching and code-mixing, two very useful tools of sociolinguistics, and attests the multilingual self of Swamiji the responsible factor behind this style-trait.

Abhijit Majumdar deals with Bangla greetings, a peripheral area of language use, and explains from sociolinguistic and pragmatic points of view three types of Bangla greetings, viz. interactive greetings, regards greetings and paralinguistic greetings.

Aditi Ghosh captures the language attitude and language choice of two Tamil native speakers, both multilingual and migrants, in Kolkata and uncovers ways in which linguistic identity is being constructed in the multilingual space of India.

Sunandan Kumar Sen submits a brief report on the print-culture of *Battala*, a well-known part of the old north Calcutta and points to its tributary role to the mainstream Bengali literature and print-culture of the present time.

My article presents a classification of Bangla verbs chiefly on the basis of the conjugational patterns after reviewing briefly a few such studies, including the classical ones by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore and Rajsekhar Basu, in the field.

It may not be irrelevant at this juncture to mention that the transcription conventions and formats of references used in these articles reflect the preferences of the respective authors.

The last section displays the current syllabi of the postgraduate courses of the department. In 2010 we shifted to the semester system of studies responding to the new directives of UGC. Accordingly the old syllabi, published in the Bulletin of the Department of Linguistics, 2005, also have undergone necessary changes and modifications. We print the new syllabi in this volume especially for the convenience of the students.

Many people provided me with help and cooperation for this volume, for which I am very grateful. I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Probal Dasgupta and Professor Krishna Bhattacharya, my teachers, Professor Sumita Bhattacharya, Dr. Abhijit Majumdar, Dr. Aditi Ghosh and Dr. Sunandan Kumar Sen, my colleagues in the department, for their contribution; Professor Suranjan Das, our Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor, for his whole-hearted support; Professor Mamata Ray, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (B.A. & F.) and Dr. Harisadhan Ghosh, the Finance Officer, for their always-positive suggestions; Professor Basab Chaudhuri, the Registrar, for his immense enthusiasm in publishing this volume; Ms. Sadhana Jana, our non-teaching colleague, for her ever willing co-operation, and Mr. Ayan Ghosh for printing the volume, among others.

I end with a piece of good news. The Bulletin of the Department of Linguistics is now duly registered under NISCAIR and has been assigned the ISSN 2319 – 6165. The ISSN applies to all the past and future volumes of the Bulletin.

I wish the Bulletin a prosperous future.

Sincerely,

Mina Dan

December 25, 2012

Professor Subhadra Kumar Sen

[July 3, 1939 - September 5, 2009]

The 5th of September 2009 is a sad day for our department. We lost Professor Subhadra Kumar Sen, a great teacher – sympathetic and scholarly – on the day dedicated to teachers. Professor Sen was born on July 3, 1939 to Mrs Sunila and Professor Sukumar Sen. Professor Sukumar Sen, one of the most respected scholars and linguists of the country, was a student as well as a teacher in this department. This department was then known as the department of Comparative Philology. Professor Subhadra Kumar Sen had his education in Kolkata in the Scottish Church School, the Scottish Church College and then in the Calcutta University.

As a faculty member, Professor Sen served this department for almost three decades till 2004, when he retired as the Khaira Professor of Linguistics and Phonetics. During this period he also rendered his services to the department of Bengali Language and Literature, the department of English Language and Literature, the department of Sanskrit and successfully supervised a number of PhD students on diverse topics. But his association with the Linguistics department spanned well beyond these thirty years. As a student, pursuing honours degree in Linguistics from the Scottish Church College, he used to come to the department for his classes, as the course of Linguistics for under graduate degree was held at the University in those days. He became the Ishan scholar of the University of Calcutta for the year of 1959. Later he did his PhD from this department under venerable Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji's guidance. His doctoral dissertation was entitled "Proto New Indo-Aryan that is Avahattha." Before joining as a full time faculty member, he served the department as a part time lecturer for about three years. After his retirement his long association with the department continued as an indispensable member of the PhD committee, a meeting of which he attended only a few weeks before his sudden and untimely demise.

Notwithstanding his long association, it would be unjust to count his attachment with the department in terms of years alone. His deep respect and strong commitment for what he often referred to as "the glorious tradition of our department", was amply evident to the students and colleagues who had a chance to interact with him. He would often reminisce about his teachers – Professor S K Chatterji in particular, reflect on the contribution of the department to historical linguistics, implore younger faculty members to remember this tradition and to try their best to live up to it. It is probably this deep respect for the linguistic tradition of the department that inspired him to become an accomplished scholar in the field of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European linguistics. Some of his important contributions in the field of historical linguistics in

particular and linguistics in general can be seen in the select bibliography given at the end of this article. As a student, it was a privilege to attend his lectures on Indo-European and Gothic and bear witness to his scholarship and mastery over the subject.

Professors Sen's interests were not confined to linguistics. He was extremely well versed in both Bengali and English literary works, an avid reader of Bible, a ghost story aficionado, an investigator of *Battala* literature and a great enthusiast of detective fictions from all over the world. He himself wrote and published detective stories based on the adventures of fictional private detective *Somnath Goyenda*. Besides, he translated a good number of Sherlock Holmes's adventures in Bengali. These were published in the Bengali children's magazine *Anandamela* and became extremely popular.

Professor Sen served a number of organisations at different times in various administrative capacities. He was the treasurer of the Asiatic Society, the President of the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, the Vice-President of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Honorary Secretary of Federation Hall, and member of the Executive Committee of the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur and Paschimanga Bangla Akademi.

His stature was never intimidating to his students. On the contrary, he was gentle, sympathetic and kind. His students can never forget his respectful yet affable use of 'apni' address. In him we found a compassionate educationist who was always available to students and research scholars for guidance. He was modest about his own achievements but proud of those of his students. He was patient and even encouraging even to those who chose not to follow his field of study or disagree with him on issues such as what should be the focus of linguistic research. Though firm of conviction, he was courteous, sophisticated and polite to colleagues and friends, often drawing comments about appropriateness of his name. Personally it was an honour to have known Professor Sen as a teacher, as a PhD supervisor and as a human being.

No tribute to Professor Sen can be complete without the mention of his wife Mrs Krishna Sen, his companion for more than forty years and affectionate and welcoming *mashima* for his students like us. He has left behind daughter Sunritabari and son Sunandan Kumar, both established academicians, and granddaughter little Anasmita.

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Dr Bhabataran Datta

[1927-2010]

Dr Bhabataran Datta was born in Hatkhola, Chandernagore, in the district of Hooghly in 1927. His parents were late Bholanath Dutta and Sukumari Datta. Dr Datta had his schooling from Duplex Collegiate School, Chandernagore, from where he passed the School Final Examination in 1944. He passed the Intermediate Examination in the year 1946 from College De Bussy, Chandernagore. During his intermediate studies he actively participated in freedom movement for which he was sent behind the bar. After completing his intermediate he was admitted to The Scottish Church College, in Calcutta from where he obtained his graduation with honours in Bengali in the year 1949. Dr Datta did his post graduation from the University of Calcutta in Comparative Philology. In his post graduate days he came in close contact with the two luminaries of the department, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Professor Sukumar Sen, whom he got as his mentors. His studies progressed under the guidance of these two scholars. Dr Datta always admitted that both Professor Chatterji and Professor Sen had greatly influenced his academic life and he always followed the academic path shown to him by these two great scholars. Dr Datta earned his doctoral degree from the same University in the year 1966 under the guidance of Professor Sukumar Sen. His research topic was 'A Linguistic Study of Personal Names & Surnames in Bengali'. The two examiners of his thesis were Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Professor S.M. Katre. His thesis was later published from the University of Calcutta in 1982. Dr Datta started his career as a Khaira Research Assistant in the department of Comparative Philology. He served the department for more than forty years. He retired from the department in 1987 as a lecturer. Because of his sincerity he continued to serve the department in extension for a few years and remained as an examiner and a paper setter for a couple of years. Even after his retirement he did not sit idle. His keen interest in academics earned him the post of Senior Research Fellow in The Asiatic Society, Calcutta. As a senior fellow he carried on extensive research in his area of interest.

Dr Datta took keen interest in fundamental research throughout his life. His main interest was in Bengali folklore, folk rhyme, Vratkathā, nursery rhymes (Bengali *chadā*), proverbs etc. These sundry subjects are very significant both culturally and socially. But because of the lack of fundamental research in these areas they are almost buried in the darkness of oblivion. Dr Datta not only took keen interest in these subjects but he also took proper initiative to preserve the rich tradition by collecting pieces of folk literature and publishing them. In fact, he had devoted his life in collecting materials from the untrodden field of folk rhyme, proverbs and Vratas. His books titled *Bāṁlā Deśer Chaḍā* (1970), *Du Pārer Chaḍā* (1972), *Bāṁlār Chaḍā* (1998) are the examples of his research which have earned him the fame of one of the most renowned

rhymists of his time. He wrote several articles on folklore, folk rhyme and Vratākathā. As a Research Fellow in The Asiatic Society he pursued his study on the folk rhyme of Vratākathā of West Bengal and Bangladesh. He also went to Bangladesh to conduct a field work in this area in 1991. He also delivered some seminars in Dakha University, Rajshahi University, Chittagong University on the similarities of *chadā* in the dialects of various regions of undivided Bengal and regions in Bihar, Orissa, Assam, & even in languages in Persian, Kashmiri etc. The findings of this long and painstaking study were published first in the journal of the Asiatic Society and later in a compact book from by The Asiatic Society 2007. The title of the book is 'The Folk Rhymes Of The Bengali Vratas'. In his last few years he was working on the dictionary of nursery rhymes of Bengal (Baṅgīya Chadākoś) and fortunately could complete the work before his death. Another notable publication by him is a comprehensive bibliography of Prof Sukumar Sen (2000).

Dr Datta was awarded the Prabhabati Devi memorial medal by the department of Folklore of Kalyani University for his outstanding and original contribution to the field of folklore in the year 1999.

Dr Datta will always be remembered fondly by his close associates, colleagues and friends especially for his unparallel aesthetic taste and elegant style. He was probably one of the last representatives of so called modest, polite middle class Bengali of the last century.

Dr Datta breathed his last at the age of 83 on 15th August 2010 in Calcutta.

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A Personal Tribute to Bhadriraju Krishnamurti

[June 19, 1928 – August 11, 2012]

The news of Professor Bhadriraju Krishnamurti's passing which reached me on the 11th of August first shocked me – he had been aging gracefully and one had expected him to last a lot longer than eighty-four – and then, on reflection, also drove home a social fact. I began to feel that the community of Indian linguists, which he worked so hard to shape seriously and durably, may have reached a point in its trajectory that makes it hard to see just what his contributions were all about. Hence this attempt to make one part of the record accessible to members of the community whose itinerary has been distant from Krishnamurti's.

I first met BhK – as he encouraged many of us to call him – in 1980 at an international conference at Osmania University, Hyderabad. I had just finished my PhD at New York University. I was happy to find that he and I, across the generation gap, shared an enthusiasm. Namely, we both felt it was important to use Indian languages in official life, in the public space, in higher education, and to incubate cutting edge research especially in the humanities and social sciences. When we began to exchange thoughts we were not just crossing a generation divide. BhK was also going out of his way to befriend a younger person across turf boundaries – he and my mentor in linguistics had crossed swords a couple of times. By 'friend' I emphatically do not mean just a chatting companion (though he was that too, and a good conversationalist). He was a well-wisher willing and able to translate words into action, as I found in my own experience. I was just one example; he often went way beyond the call of duty to support non-conventional scholars. BhK always did his best to ensure working conditions for them that were as optimal as the overall institutional circumstances in our country would permit; and he expected these scholars to walk the extra mile to improve these circumstances for others. BhK was a rare combination – a scholar who was also seriously committed to institution building.

On the basis of what I experienced ever since I accepted the professorship that he offered me at the University of Hyderabad, I can vouch for the fact that BhK as an academic and an administrator worked both privately and publicly to create an interpersonal ethos that would foster excellence and the democratic virtues, but that he did not believe in an opposition between merit and social justice. His appreciation of excellence never lapsed into elitism; he also never made the opposite mistake of pushing the appearance of democracy to the point of suffocating the quest for intellectual and cultural excellence. His willingness to cross boundaries was evident for instance in the fact that despite his life-long support for a centrist form of politics he was explicitly appreciative of writings emanating from the radical left. Again, I am speaking of actions, not just words: BhK was the Vice-Chancellor who expanded the scope of reservations in the admission process of the University of Hyderabad

to help the democratic conversation to flourish. Some day, writers capable of eliciting serious public attention will give him credit for this social achievement which grew directly out of his academic convictions.

Lacking Dravidianist credentials, I cannot comment on the core of BhK's academic achievements. If I knew more about the history of social inquiry in Andhra Pradesh, I would have a clearer sense of the place of BhK's unique sociolinguistically sensitive survey of occupational terms in that history. But I am able to testify that he asked an acute question once about the structure of Esperanto: "Are there any morphophonemic alternations in the language?" Few scholars who (like BhK) had not tried to learn the language themselves would think to ask such a question. To be sure, the question did not lead to an elaborate discussion – BhK was chary of expressing hasty opinions about issues where he had not done adequate prior reading. But it strengthened one's regard for his sharpness of perception.

Let me finish by recounting a telling anecdote closer to home. BhK and I were travelling to Kolkata to speak at a Suniti Kumar Chatterji centenary seminar organized by Pashchimbanga Bangla Akademi. On the way, BhK said, "Probal, there is a question I have been wanting to ask you. The major laws of sound change that were stated in Chatterji's *ODBL* – they stand, don't they?" I reflected for a moment and said, "Yes, they stand." He simply said, "That is what I wanted to know." The point BhK was driving home, asking a quiet question in 1990 about a book published in 1926, was that we who are working today should repeatedly ask ourselves: Are we writing anything with enough rigour to make it likely that commentators sixty-four years hence will still cheer for what we have written today?

What BhK shared with Chatterji was a dual rootedness. As in the case of Chatterji's bond with Jones and other teachers in Europe, BhK retained a lifelong bond with his Canadian-American teacher Murray Emeneau, through whom he claimed descent from the lineage of Edward Sapir. Likewise, BhK was also a proud exponent of the grammatical, literary and cultural tradition associated with his mother tongue Telugu who published both in English and in his first language. It is a pity that the institutional and intellectual structure of linguistics in India does not make it a responsibility for all serious linguists in this country to cultivate their bicultural roots, but leaves it as an optional virtue to be cultivated by some of us. Surely a future generation will know how to build this imperative into our institutions themselves – presumably upsetting the apple cart of western linguistics as drastically as is required for such a change to come to pass. Meanwhile, let us simply remember his biculturality as one of BhK's many virtues. May his example endure.

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A Personal Tribute to Rajendra Singh

[March 2, 1943 – August 24, 2012]

In the wake of the Indian-Canadian linguist Rajendra Singh's death on 24 August 2012 at the age of sixty-nine, many linguists, diverse in their backgrounds and scholarly preferences, have expressed not only grief but a sense that we had an unusually gifted thinker among us, whose voice will no longer be heard. Josef Bayer of Konstanz, for instance, writes: "I knew Raj through Gisbert Fanselow and Sascha Felix from a long time ago when he was in Germany, and I felt immediately attracted to his scientific approach in general and argumentation in linguistics in particular. What a sharp thinker and independent mind! Although I was never close to Rajendra's central fields of inquiry, phonology, morphology, sociolinguistics etc., I could not get rid of the intuition that he was right on target on almost any of the big questions that international linguistic research has put on the agenda. There are not many among us who one can seriously talk to about the discipline across the steep research boundaries. One could, to Raj. He was clearly one of these rare stars.

"Next to this, there was also the person," Bayer continues. "On that level I remember few colleagues who were more pleasant company than Raj. What a wonderful man."

These words from a linguist whose field of inquiry had no overlap with Rajendra Singh's work indicate the immediately perceptible vividness of his presence specifically as a fellow linguist. In order to understand the depth of his vision, one needs to also know that his doctoral dissertation – which he regarded as a failure and never published – sought to find a delimitation criterion that would tell us just what would constitute either syntax or semantics as a well-defined module with a distinct object of its own. After his PhD, the reason he focused so hard on one phonology problem – from which his inquiry then branched out, resulting in the twin theories of 'generative phonotactics' and 'whole word morphology' – was that he had found a way to solve the module delimitation problem for phonology and morphology.

Singh's unhappiness with the proposal that there should be a field called 'sociolinguistics' had to do with his certainty that no such field could conceptualize an object of its own. In English language studies and translation studies, as well, Singh's quest was for a rational delimitation whereby domains of inquiry – for which it makes sense to identify domain-specific laws and objects of study – could be distinguished from applied areas that accept and cross-fertilize insights from several fields. He felt certain that there could be no such field as translation studies, language teaching, and so

on, although one could and of course should speak insightfully about topics in those areas.

The reservations that Singh expressed, sometimes sharply, about the way linguists organize their work had to do with his feeling that far too often a collection of scholars getting together for camaraderie reasons and exchanging notes about some loosely connected themes deceive themselves into believing that they have established an entire field of serious inquiry. This he felt was an effect of modern advertising techniques. He also felt that people who did indeed have a field of inquiry at their disposal sometimes fell into the trap of functioning like a loose aggregation of people who focus on the camaraderie and its consequences and not on the rigorously delimitable field of inquiry. He believed that syntacticians had fallen into this trap in our times, though he did not accuse Chomsky of having made this happen (he simply felt Chomsky was too kind a man to be able to stop it from happening).

In other words, Singh was mainly a methodologically focused linguist who looked for places where he could satisfy his thirst for rigorously delimitable modules and pursue questions within those. But he was also a gifted and caring conversationalist who took interest in the questions his interlocutors found important, and he always tried to help.

Turning from this overall assessment to the palpable impact Singh had on scholarship, bibliometrists will tell us if Singh's 1987 paper 'Well-formedness conditions and phonological theory' (*Phonologica* 1984:273-285) remains the most frequently cited twentieth-century paper by any linguist of Indian origin; if we confine the question to the scholarly literature in formal linguistics, I strongly suspect that it does. The founding documents of optimality theory explicitly acknowledge Singh's contribution to its basic tenets. In such disciplines as morphology, sociolinguistics, and what is called the study of the new Englishes, Singh's impact has been considerable: one architect of Distributed Morphology, Alec Marantz, has explicitly acknowledged his contribution. Singh used to stress the role played by Alan Ford (who predeceased him) as a co-architect, by David Stampe as a forerunner of his approach to phonology and morphology, by Stan Starosta and Yves-Charles Morin as comrades-in-arms, by Ramakant Agnihotri as the partner who co-developed a morphological description of Hindi. And those of us familiar with the details of his work knew how vitally important his long-distance friend and colleague Thiru Kandiah and his former student Otto Ikomé were in his enterprise. But Singh alone carried the approach into the interface of linguistics with social and pedagogical concerns. As the chief editor of the *Yearbook* (which mutated into the *Annual Review*) of *South Asian Languages and Linguistics*, Singh put this distinctive approach to the study of language on the bibliographic map at a level that went beyond his writings.

My own academic collaboration with Singh began in the eighties; perhaps the clearest milestone was the publication in 2000 of *After Etymology: Towards a Substantivist Linguistics* which I co-authored with Alan Ford and Rajendra Singh. We second-generation bearers of the legacy have a particularly onerous responsibility in South Asia. Among others of South Asian origin in this category I must mention Rekha Abel, Debaprasad Bandyopadhyay, Shishir Bhattacharja, Mina Dan, Shubhasree Ganguly (d. 2011), Sanjukta Ghosh, Rimi Ghosh-Dastidar, Devarati Jana, Nivedita Mitra, Savitha Moorthy, Sibansu Mukhopadhyay, K.J. Pramod, A. Giridhar Rao, Praveen Singh. With some help from friends in Canada and elsewhere, we who carry this torch will continue, on the basis of Singh's pioneering work, to question both the formalist mainstream and its functionalist other, as we work our way towards an inclusive, unabridged, rigorous science of language.

Probal Dasgupta
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Patterns of Parallelism and Repetition in Tagore's songs: Structure and Meaning*

Krishna Bhattacharya

Abstract : Parallelism is a concept related to the foregrounding theory forwarded by the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists. Parallelism refers to some special patterns of arrangements of linguistic items. It means extra linguistic patterning. Leech (1969) refers to 'parallelism as foregrounded regularity'. It "is in a sense the opposite of deviation, for it consists in the introduction of extra regularities, not irregularities, into the language." Further parallelism is distinguished from repetition. Parallelism exhibits similarity of structures of words, phrases, clauses and sentences with dissimilar linguistic items whereas repetition presents complete repetition of words, phrases, clauses and sentences. The present paper attempts to analyze the language of the songs of Rabindranath Tagore, which were considered by the writer himself as his best literary contribution. Tagore was certain that his songs will live with his countrymen and have a permanent place. The paper focuses on two devices of stylistic analysis, viz., parallelism and repetition. There are varied patterns of syntactic parallelism and repetition in Tagore's songs. With the constraints of limited data collected from Gitabitan, the repertoire of Tagore's songs, the structures and meanings of these patterns of syntactic parallelism and repetition have been described in this paper and marked as style markers of Tagore's songs.

Key Words: Parallelism, Repetition, Foregrounding, Rabindranath Tagore, Gitabitan, Style marker

Preamble

A song is generally a verse set to music. And a verse is a text often written with a regular rhythm which is technically called a metre and it is controlled by a set of rules. The metrical form of a verse attains a musical form when it is characterized by tune. In Bangla (Bengali) there are different categories of lyric songs identified on the basis of their composition and tune, viz., songs of Kaji Nazrul Islam, songs of Atulprasad Sen, songs of Dwijendralal Roy, songs of Rajanikanta Sen and other modern Bangla songs of later period and so on. It is needless to say that all these types of songs are generally

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not improvised. In some cases, of course, there is some scope of improvisation. Further, all these songs are mainly melodious. Tagore's Songs (Rabindrasangeet) comprise one such category and these are considered the best examples of Bangla lyric songs. In case of Tagore his songs are good poems also. In Tagore's songs music or tune is so inextricably blended with the poetic text that it is impossible to separate the melody from the poetic text. To enjoy Tagore's songs best, one has to understand the poetry of words also. Tagore was a prolific author. He wrote successfully in all literary genres. His literary contributions include poems, novels, short stories, essays, plays, musical dramas, dance dramas, travelogues, autobiographies, letters and songs. Two songs viz., *janaganamana-adhināyaka jaya he, bhāratabhāgyavidhātā* 'You are the ruler of the minds of all people, dispenser of India's destiny' and *āmār sonār bānglā, āmi tomāy bhālobāsi* 'My golden Bengal, I love you dearly', composed by Tagore are accepted as national anthems of India and Bangladesh respectively. It is worth mentioning that, "If Tagore was certain of one thing it was this, that the people of his country could not do without his songs - a bold claim, but the faith has been more than justified" (*Rabindra – Sangit: The Songs of Tagore* by Beerendra Bandyopadhyaya, 1981, Kolkata: Granthalaya Pvt. Ltd. pp 22). In this connection let us now consider two comments by Tagore himself as presented in the following : 1) "I get lost in my songs, and then I think that these are my best work; —I often feel that, if all my poetry is forgotten, my songs will live with my countrymen, and have a permanent place" (Tagore to Edward Thompson as in Edward Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore : Poet and Dramatist*, 1926:69)¹ and 2) "I do not hesitate to say that my songs have found their place in the heart of my land, along with her flowers that are never exhausted, and that the folk of the future, in days of joy or sorrow or festival, will have to sing them. This too is the work of a revolutionist."² So as the best contribution of Tagore his songs are worth studying from different points of view of epistemology. Stylistics as a branch of linguistics forwards one such viewpoint. Tagore composed nearly two thousand songs.³ It is to be noted that Tagore's songs cannot be improvised and unique melody is their characterizing feature. They are purely compositions and simultaneously good lyric poems. The present paper aims at analyzing the language of these songs from the stylistic point of view and for that purpose syntactic parallelism and repetition which are frequently used in songs, have been taken into consideration. Nearly three hundred songs⁴ representing different types based on content like devotion, nature, love, variety, patriotism etc. and tune have been selected on the basis of their popularity and availability and the verse texts of such songs have been collected as data.

Parallelism

The concept of parallelism is related to the foregrounding theory forwarded by the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists. Some important personalities of this combined group are Viktor Shklovsky, Vilem Mathesius, Lubomir Dolezel, Bohuslav Havranek, Roman Jakobson, Jan Mukarovsky and many others. They paid particular

attention to the poetic language. As mentioned by Jakobson⁵ (Sebeok, pp. 353-357) there are six basic functions of language and the poetic or aesthetic function is one of them. When a message is poetic the stress is on the form of the message and obviously the aesthetic function is predominant. While discussing about the standard language and the poetic language Mukarovsky says, "for poetry, the standard language is the background against which is reflected the esthetically intentional distortion of the linguistic components of the work, in other words, the intentional violation of the norm of the standard."⁶ He further says, "The more the norm of the standard is stabilized in a given language, the more varied can be its violation."⁶

According to the foregrounding theory some parts of texts become more effective on readers in comparison to the other parts as these parts hold some linguistic deviations or some special patterns of arrangements of linguistic items. Thus the parts become psychologically significant for the readers. Foregrounding is the opposite of automatization which means schematization as is found in the standard language. Because of automatization speakers of a language can use language correctly without any conscious effort whereas in poetic language foregrounding or violation of the norm takes place consciously. It is to be noted that a complete foregrounding of all linguistic items in a text is not possible. The foregrounding of a linguistic item must be accompanied by the automatization of one or more other items in the text. As mentioned in literature foregrounding has two devices: deviation and parallelism. Both are important as features of the poetic language. Deviation takes place when rules are broken on any level of the linguistic structure. And parallelism means extra linguistic patterning. Leech (1969) refers to 'parallelism as foregrounded regularity'⁷. It "is in a sense the opposite of deviation, for it consists in the introduction of extra regularities, not irregularities, into the language."⁸ Here one question may be raised; does parallelism not violate the norm of the standard language by introducing too much regularity? So following Jakobson parallelism can also be treated as one kind of deviation or defamiliarization resulting from structural patterning.⁹ Parallelism may operate on different structural levels. A similar hierarchy of linguistic components like sounds, words, phrases, clauses, sentences etc., may be set up to produce different patterns. In parallelism the same pattern is selected though there are options. As a result the expression affects the content in varied ways. It should be kept in mind as Leech (1969:64) explains that 'there are degrees of foregrounded regularity'. Parallelism takes place when a degree of patterning is marked in a poetic work with some artistic effect. An example¹⁰ from Tagore is given below: the constructions consist of noun+ postposition-instrumental+pronominal modifier+object+(negative)+(compound) verb:

mon die jar nagal nahi pay / gan die Sey cOron chuMe jay

'Though I may miss you with my heart, / I touch your feet by my song's art -'

[First line - *tumi jOkhon gan gahite bOlo* 'When you call upon me to sing'] (Winter; henceforth the name of the translator or the source of translation is given in parenthesis.)

Parallelistic patterns can be interpreted in many ways. It is often connected with emphasis and memorability.¹¹ The structures and meanings of the parallelistic patterns of Tagore's songs are illustrated in the following section.

Parallel Patterns in Tagore's songs

Different types of parallelistic patterns are observed in Tagore's songs. The parallel sequences may be contiguous or incongruous; they may occur within the same line or across the lines in a song. Structurally, parallel patterns may consist of phrases, clauses, sentences etc., of varied internal compositions. As stated earlier semantically, emphasis and memorability are the two features of parallel patterns and repetition. In Tagore's songs we find that these two features help reach the climax or the central theme. Through equivalence and contrast it highlights the main theme. Sometimes some declamatory force is also expressed through parallelism. The details are as follows:

1) A parallelistic pattern is observed in the following song in which out of eight lines all seven lines excepting the sixth line have structural similarity with two words repeated i.e. with two identical items (*tomari name* 'in your name' = 'invoked by you'). The other items are different and these disharmonious items express varied ideas. But the identical items are dominant and they with the help of disharmonious items highlight the central theme. The object+verb order of the first line has been reversed in the second line. The verb+subject order of the third, fourth, fifth and seventh lines has again been reversed in the last line, i.e. in the eighth line. It is notable that there is an inversion in the components of the compound verb *uThilo baji* (normal order is *baji uThilo*) 'started playing' in the fourth line. Thus through identity and contrast parallelism enhances the beauty of the song. Let us now look at the song:

tomari name nOYono melinu punno probhate aji,
 tomari name khulilo hridOYo SOtodOlodOloraaji.
 tomari name nibiRo timire phuTilo kOnokolekha,
 tomari name uThilo gOgone kirOnobina baji.
 tomari name purbotorone khulilo SiNhodaro,
 bahirilo robi nobino aloke dipto mukuTo maji.
 tomari name jibOnoSagore jagilo lOhorilila,
 tomari name nikhilo bhubOno bahire aSilo Saji.

'I opened my eyes in this holy dawn being invoked by you.

Being invoked by you the heart opened like bunches of lotus.

The golden glow became visible from the depth of darkness being invoked by you.

The lute of rays in the sky became melodious (started playing) being invoked by you.

The main door of the eastern portal opened being invoked by you.

Being invoked by you the sun with the shiny polished crown appeared with the new light.

The game of waves came upon this ocean of life being invoked by you.

The whole of universe came out dressed being invoked by you.' (Satarupa Dattamajumdar)

2) A pattern of parallel sentences is observed in two consecutive lines of some songs with structural sameness. The verb is repeated here. The concept of 'alo' "light" that fills the world or by which our hearts are swirled, is glorified as well as highlighted or rather foregrounded by this structure. The order of the units is like verb-subject-verb with or without additional units. For example:

nace alo nace, o bhay, amar praner kache

baje alo baje, o bhay, hridOY binar majhe

'Light that dances, brothers, rolling our lives along;

Light that twangs our heartstrings like the veena's song.' (Radice, pp.78)

3) Small simple parallel sentences with verb-subject order occurring within the same line of a song constitutes another pattern. For example:

a) jage akaS, choTe bataS, haSe SOkol dhOra

'Sky awaking, planet laughing, breezes swirled.' (Radice, pp.79)

b) bajibe kONkOno, bajibe kiNkini/ jhONkaribe runu runu

'Bangles clinking, anklets ringing/with the runu runu of little bells' (Bardhan, pp.138)

4) The reverse pattern is also noticed, i.e. subject-verb order with or without an object as available in the following parallel sentences occurring in the same line and sometimes in consecutive lines:

a) ami kOkhono ba bhuli, kOkhono ba coli

'Sometimes I err – and sometimes I follow' [first line - ami bohu baSonaY prapOne cay 'Many and deep my cravings are'] (Winter, pp. 26)

b) ami Sunbo dhoni kane / ami bhorbo dhoni prane

‘I shall listen to (your) sound(tune) through ear/ I shall fill up (my) heart with (your) sound(tune)’

c) ami rupe tomaY bholabo na, bhalobaSaY bholabo

ami hat die dar khulbo na go, gan die dar kholabo

‘I shall not beguile you with my beauty, I shall beguile you with my love

I shall not open the door with my hand, but with my song I shall make it come open’

(Kushari Dyson, pp.263)

5) Parallel correlative sentences are often found with identical structures in the form of listing some ideas in order to draw attention to the main theme. The subordinate clauses are parallel and followed by the principal clause in the following texts. By parallelism the emotion for the cherished object is expressed. There are two principal clauses twice repeated in (a) and in (b) the principal clause is repeated at the end of the stanzas.

a) jekhane oy kokil Dake chaYatOle

Sekhane nOY,

jekhane oy gramer bodhu aSe jOle

Sekhane nOY,

jekhane nil mOronlila uThche dule

Sekhane mor ganer tori dilem khule

.....

kunjoboner Sakha hote je phul tole

Se phul e nOY,

bataYaner lOta hote je phul dole

Se phul e nOY——

‘not there where the cuckoo coos under the shade,

not there where the married woman of a village comes to fetch water,

there I have set my boat of songs adrift where the blue ocean of death oscillates.

.....

This is not that flower, which is plucked from the branch of a play-garden,

This is not that flower, which swings from the creeper over the window.’(Author)

It is to be mentioned that the central theme is expressed by the first two lines:

kul theke mor ganer tori dilem khule,
sagoro-majhe bhaSie dilem paTi tule.
'I have freed my boat of songs from the shore,
I have let it sail on the ocean.' (Author)

b) amar je gan tomar pOroS pabe
thake kothaY gOhon moner bhabe?

.....

amar je aMkhijOl tomar paYe nabe
thake kothaY gOhon moner bhabe?

.....

amar je SeS bani tomar dare jabe
thake kothaY gOhon moner bhabe?

'The song of mine that would get your touch,
where, in what mood of the mind's depth does it lurk?

.....

The tear of mine that would fall on your feet, surrendered,
where, in what mood of the mind's depth does it lurk?

.....

The final piece of mine that will reach your portals,
where, in what mood of the mind's depth does it lurk? (Bardhan, pp. 237)

6) Another peculiar pattern of the correlative sentences consists of the repetition of the principal clauses only having almost the same structure, of course, with dissimilar units. The importance of the action expressed in the subordinate clause is highlighted by the listing of the actions mentioned in the parallel principal clauses. For example,

ganer bhitOr die jOkhon dekhi bhubOnkhani
tOkhon tare cini, ami tOkhon tare jani
tOkhon tari alor bhaSaY akaS bhOre bhalobaSaY,
tOkhon tari dhulaY dhulaY jage pOrom bani.
tOkhon Se je bahir cheRe OntOre mor aSe

tOkhon amar hridOY kaMpe tari ghaSe ghaSe.

.....

tOkhon dekhi amar Sathe SObar kanakani.

‘When through a song I see the world

Then I recognize it, then I understand.

Then its own language of light fills the sky with delight,

Then a sublime message wakes up in its dust.

Then it leaves the outside, in my soul it comes,

Then my heart trembles in the blades of its grass.

.....

Then I find all with each other in close touch.’ (Bardhan, pp. 218-19)

7) In case of correlative sentences another pattern marks the occurrence of parallel subordinate clauses following the principal clause. In the following example the parallel subordinate clauses list the characteristics of the central theme i.e. ‘melody’ for which the poet aspires. The subordinate clauses reveal his earnest desire for ‘melody’. Let us have a look into the text below:

je Sur gopOn guha hote chuTe aSe akul srote

.....

je Sur uSar bani boYe akaSe jaY bheSe

.....

je Sur caMpar peYala bhore dEY aponaY ujaR kore

‘The melody that comes flowing hurriedly from a secret cave

.....

The melody that carries the message of the dawn and floats in the sky

.....

The melody that distributes itself empty by filling up caMpa (a flower) like a cup.’ (Author)

The main or central theme dwells on ‘melody’ expressed in the first two lines viz.,

ganer jhOrnatOlaY tumi SaMjher bElaY ele,

dao amare Sonar- bOron Surer dhara Dhele.

'You came beneath the fountain of melody in the evening
(You) give me pouring the flow of golden-hued melody.' (Author)

8) The reverse pattern is exemplified in the following text where the principal clause is repeated alternatively after the parallel subordinate clauses in correlative sentences. This pattern has the structure comparable with the pattern 5. But the difference lies in the fact that in the present case the whole of the song consisting of ten lines excepting the eighth and ninth lines contains correlative sentences with the repeated principal clause which highlights the main theme. In pattern 5 correlative sentences are found in particular stanzas and the first two lines as mentioned earlier focuses the central theme. Now the text is presented below:

jibOne jOto puja holo na Sara
jani he jani taW hOY ni hara.
je phul na phuTite jhoreche dhOronite
je nodi morupOthe haralo dhara
jani he jani taW hOY ni hara.

'All life's acts of worship not completed --
even those, I know, aren't utterly lost, forfeited.
The flower that fell to earth before opening its eye,
the river that lost its way in desert sands --
even those, I know, aren't utterly lost, forfeited.' (Kushari Dyson, pp.259-260)

9) In the following song consisting of sixteen lines there are two parts so far as the parallel structures are concerned, viz.,

Part I

mor SondhaY tumi SundOrobeSe eSecho,
tomaY korigo nomoSkar.
mor Ondhokarer OntOre tumi heSecho,
tomaY korigo nomoSkar.
'In the evening of mine you have stepped in beautifully dressed,
I salute you.
Within the depth of my ignorant (dark) heart you have laughed,
I salute you.' (Author)

In this part the first and the third sentences are parallel and the second sentence is repeated in the fourth line. In the parallel sentences there are subjects and verbs with some adverbs. The poet refers to two different actions of 'tumi "you" (i.e. God) to whom he offers his salutation. Offering of salutation is the main theme of this song which is emphasized in the second or the last part of the song.

Part II

In this part from the fifth line onwards there are locative or instrumental noun phrases with modifiers and the second line has been repeated alternatively. The last four lines, for example, are:

ey kOrmo-Onte nibhrito panthoSalate
tomaY korigo nomoSkar
ey gOndhogOhono - SondhakuSumo malate
tomaY korigo nomoSkar

'I salute you in this inn lonely at the end of all business.

I salute you with this deeply fragrant garland made of evening-flowers.'(Author)

Parallelism and Repetition

Leech (1969:65) distinguishes between Parallelism and Repetition. As Roman Jakobson says "any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables."¹² Leech further explains "in any parallelistic pattern there must be an element of identity and an element of contrast."¹³ Thus parallelism exhibits similarity of structures in words, phrases, clauses and sentences whereas repetition presents complete repetition of words, phrases, clauses and sentences. In parallelism similar constructions with dissimilar syntactic components can occur in the same sentence or in consecutive sentences. Repetition, on the other hand, presents mechanical repeated occurrence of linguistic items and this exact repetition of a word or a clause or a sentence is not counted as parallelism. Let us now see in the following how repetition plays a role in Tagore's songs. The number within parenthesis indicates the frequency of occurrence of an item in the song.

Patterns of Repetition in Tagore's songs

Repetition in Tagore's songs can be examined from three angles. In one case there are repetitions of syntactic constructions which do not occur in juxtaposition but occur in any part of the song. In another case there are repetitive structures which are not juxtaposed but occur in the same line. In the third type the repeated items are placed

side by side. In addition, there is another kind of repetitive structures which are different from the above-mentioned ones in nature. These are reduplicated structures. It is noteworthy that the reduplicated structures are juxtaposed. Reduplication of linguistic structures, being an areal feature of the South Asian languages, is found to be abundant in Tagore's songs along with repetitive structures. Words occurring twice or more in juxtaposition are treated here as repetitive structures. The expressives or onomatopoeia like *jhOro jhOro*, *kOlo kOlo*, *chOlo chOlo*, *rimijhim* etc. are not included in this study. Considering both expression and connotation the patterns of repetition in Tagore's songs are discussed below.

1) In the song *Suni khOne khOne mone mone OtOlo jOler aobhan* 'Time and again in my heart I listen to summons of an unfathomable sea' of the dance drama *Chitrangada* there are two instances of repetition. a) One pattern consisting of subject-verb order (3) is available in the following part of the song.

Dheu dilo, Dheu dilo, Dheu dilo amar mOrmOTole

'There rise the waves. And in a strange likeness ripples surge in my person.'
(www.gitabitanen.blogspot)

b) Another pattern consists of the repetition of the verb in the negative form (3) as in the following line:

mono rOY na, rOY na, rOY na ghOre, cOnCOnOlo pran

'My restive spirit longs to abandon my home.'
(www.gitabitanen.blogspot)

The immediate interpretation is that in both the cases a particular state of mind is highlighted. To response to the summons of an unfathomable sea the spirit is restless and eager to abandon home. In wider interpretation the passionate feelings of the heroin Chitrangada towards Arjun, the Hero, is expressed by repetition. Simultaneously, the contrast between the present (i.e. at the time of performing the song) and the previous mental states of Chitrangada is manifested. The example (b) of repetition in fact refers to the central theme.

2) Some more examples of repetition which serve the function of highlighting the central theme are the following (The first lines of the songs where required are given in square brackets):

a) nOY e modhur khEla(2) 'This is no sweet game' (Chaudhuri)

b) ey ki tomar khuSi, amaY tay pOrale mala/ Surer- gOndho- Dhala?(3)

'Is your pleasure that you have put around me a garland fragrant with music?'

[kannahaSir doldolano pouSphaguner pala 'The sway of tears and laughter is like the play of seasons.'](Som)

This question holds the central theme which has been elaborated throughout the whole song in the perspective of the duty allotted.

c) Ekla cOlo (re) (5) 'go your way alone' [jodi tor Dak Sune kew na aSe tObe Ekla cOlo re 'If no one responds to your call, then go your way alone.'](Som)

d) (tay) OkarOne gan gay (3) 'that's why for no reason I sing.' [mone rObe kina rObè amare 'If I'd stay in your mind or not, that's not what I've on my mind.'](Bardhan)

e) nay ba dile Santona (2) 'if you can't comfort me (in sorrow)' [bipOde more rokkha kOro e nOhe mor prarthona ' "Save me in danger!" is never my prayer to you.'](Kushari Dyson)

f) eSo he, eSo he, eSo he amar bOSonto eSo (4) 'Come hither, come hither, come hither, O my springtime come hither.' [aji dokhino- duar khola 'Today open are the southern gates' (www.gltabitanen.blogspot)]

g) eSo nipòbōne chaYabithitOle (3)'Come to the Kadamba grove, under the shady trees.'(Kushari Dyson)

h) ey-je (4) 'This is—' [ey- je tomar prem, ogo hridOYohOrono 'This is your love indeed, my heart's ravisher.'](Kushari Dyson). The phrase initiates the central theme.

i) bOSonter ey matal SomirOne (3) 'In the heady spring breeze' [aj jotsnarate SObay gEche bone 'On this full moon night all have gone to the forest.'](Som)

j) sraboner dharar moto poRuk jhore,poRuk jhore (3) 'Like Sravan's streaming rain let it descend, let it descend.'(Bardhan)

The repetition marks the prominence of this line which¹ expresses the central theme together with the second line – tomar-i SurTi amar mukher pOre, buker pOre 'Your very own melody on my face, on my breast.'(Bardhan)

k) Similarly,

ami je gan geYechilem jirno pata jhOrar bElay (3) 'that I sang songs in the hour worn leaves are shed'

[ey kOthaTi mone rekho, tomader ey haSikhElay 'Do keep this in mind amidst your laughing-playing ways'] (Bardhan)

The subordinate clause is repeated to focus the central theme in association with the first line.

l) dhonno holo (2) 'Blessed, O blessed is (my human birth)'

[jOgote anondo jogge amar nimOntrOn 'I have been called to the joy-feast of this earth'] (Chaudhuri)

Repetition expresses the central theme together with the first line.

m) nil digOnte (2) 'In the blue horizon'

[nil digOnte oy phuler agun laglo 'A fire of flowers has hit the blue horizon'] (Kushari Dyson)

n) Sey- je amar nana rONer dinguli(5) 'My days, my many-coloured days'

[dinguli mor Sonar khaMcaY roylo na 'I couldn't keep my days in the golden cage.'](Kushari Dyson)

o) dhOraY aSo (2) 'You come on earth'

[kon alote praner prodip jalie tumi 'Lighting the soul's lamp in what fire'] (Bardhan)

The repetition here highlights the action which is dominant in the central theme.

p) noyle moder rajar sOne milbo ki SOtte (4) 'How else would we have the will to join our hands with His.'

[amra SObay raja amader ey rajar rajotte 'We all rule supreme in our kingdom of the King.'](www.gitabitanen.blogspot)]

The subordinate clause is repeated here to highlight the main idea. Another example of the same nature is *SO b dite hObe* 'everything (of mine) to be offered' in the song *amar je SO b dite hObe, Se to ami jani* 'I know that everything (of mine) is to be offered.' (Author)

q) SOkol OhoNkar he amar DubaW cokher jOle (3) 'Yield up my arrogance to tears, let all my pride be drowned.'

- [am̐ar matha nOto kore daW he tomar cOronodhular tOle 'O now beneath your feet's dust let my head kneel on the ground.'](Winter)
- r) tomar cOron-dhulaY dhulaY dhuSO r hObo(3) 'I shall be ashen with the dust of your feet'
[aSontOler maTir pOre luTie rObo 'Prostrate, Lord, on the ground at your throne-seat'](Winter)
- s) aj amader chuTi o bhay, aj amader chuTi (2) 'Today is our day off, friends, it's our day off.'
[megher kole rod heSeche badol gEche TuTi 'In the lap of clouds smiles the sun, the rain stopped.'](Bardhan)
- t) jOYo jOYo jOYo re (3) 'Hail, hail, hail to the rise of man'
[oy mOhamanObo aSe 'The supreme Man now comes'](Chaudhuri)
There is a declamatory force also.
- u) tumi tay go (2) 'You are just that, just that you are.'
[amaro pOrano jaha caY 'What my soul wants'](Bardhan).
It emphasizes the central theme along with the first line with a declamatory force.
- v) eki go biSSOMY (2) 'What a surprise'
[Eto din je boSechilem 'So long I waited'](Author)].
Repetition adds a declamatory force also to the central theme.
- w) Verb-less sentences are often repeated to emphasize the central theme. For example, the utterance *tumi amari, tumi amari* 'you are mine, you are mine' is repeated six times in the song *tumi Sondharo meghomala* 'you are the garland of evening clouds'(Som).
- x) A sentence of adverb+verb+subject structure as *biSSOMYe tay jage amar gan* 'In wonder thus, does my Song arise' is repeated four times in the song *akaSbhOra Surjotara, biSSObhOra pran* 'The sun and star-studded skies - a world throbbing with life' (Bardhan). It expresses the central theme within the elaborative equivalent parts of the song.
- y) The central theme is highlighted in the song *amar nOYonobhulano ele* 'You've come, eye-charmer of mine' by repeating the small sentence *nOYonobhulano ele*

'You've come, eye-charmer (of mine)'. The remaining parts of the song are mostly the elaboration of the theme.

3) In some cases words, phrases or sentences are repeated sometimes with or without a term of address inserted in between to express a declamatory force. For example:

a) SundOro he SundOro (4) 'Beautiful, O, Beautiful'

[ey lobhinu SONGo tObo 'Thus have I gained your company'] (Bardhan)

ogo bideSini (5) 'O Stranger'

[ami cini go cini tomare 'I know you, I know you well' (Som).

The term of address *ogo* precedes the noun.

b) he OntOrer dhOn (2) 'O Treasure of my heart'

[*he OntOrer dhOn/ tumi je birohi, tomar Sunno e bhubOn* 'O Treasure of my heart, you are lonely, your world is vacant']

Here the noun phrase is preceded by a term of address *he*.

c) (khol), dar khol (7) 'Open your doors.'

[*ore grihobaSi khol, dar khol, laglo je dol*. 'House-bound men, open your doors. It's swinging time'] (Kushari Dyson).

d) jabo na aj ghOre re bhay, jabo na aj ghOre 'Listen, mates, we ain't going home today – no! not indoors!'

[*aj dhaner khete roudrochaYaY lukocuri khEla- (re bhaY, lukocuri khEla)* 'Sunshine and shadows play hide- and seek today in the paddy-fields!'] (Kushari Dyson)

e) tumi jano nay(6) 'You didn't know'

[*amar jibOnopatrO uccholia madhuri korecho dan* 'In my life's cup you've poured, overflowing, sweetness-'] (Bardhan).

In the same song – *jare jano nay* (3) 'The one you didn't know - '.

f) (aY re cole), aY aY aY (3) 'Come hither, come hither, come hither.'

[*pouS toder Dak dieche* 'The season of Paush hails you'] (Som).

In the same song and in *amar Sonar baNla, ami tomaY bhalobaSi* 'O my golden Bengal, I love you' we get the repetitive structures like (*mori*) *haY, haY haY* (3) and (*mori*) *haY, haY re* (5) 'Come let us celebrate'.

g) jabo na (go) jabo na (je) 'I won't go, my friends, I won't'

[aj jotsnarate SObay gEche bone 'On this full moon night all have gone to the forest']

h) aha (4) 'What a pleasure'

[aji e anondoSondha 'Today in this evening joy']

i) aha haha ha(4) 'What a pleasure, What a pleasure'

[megher kole rod heSeche badol gEche TuTi 'In the lap of clouds smiles the sun, the rain stopped.'](Bardhan)

j) jani jani, tumi eSecho e pOthe monero bhule 'I know, I know, you have come this way absently, by mistake.' (Bardhan)

k) The repetition in the song line *jani,jani, bandhu, jani* 'I know, I know, my friend, I know' of the song *aji bijOno ghOre niSiho rate aSbe jodi Sunno hate* 'If in my solitary home late tonight, with empty hands you would visit,'(Bardhan) focuses the firm confidence in the friend i.e. the life god.

4) In some cases the repetition expresses the entreaty for the favour of the addressee. In most of the cases the finite verb is repeated in an imperative sentence. For example:

a) An imperative sentence with the repetition of the object+verb structure:

(proSonno) mukho tolo(3) 'Raise to me a gracious face, raise the face, raise the face.'

[amar jibOnopatrO uccholia madhuri korecho dan 'In my life's cup you've poured, overflowing, sweetness-'] (Bardhan)

b) An imperative sentence with the repetition of the transitive verb only:

probhu, bOlo bOlo kObe 'O lord, tell me, tell me when——'.

c) The song *mor hridOYer gopOno bijOno ghOre* 'In my heart's hidden room of seclusion' has one line which contains one finite verbal form with a vocative form following a noun at the beginning of the line and the verb is repeated thrice. The line is:

priYotOmo he, jago jago jago (6)

'O my dearest, awake, awake, awake.'(Bardhan)

The repeated line holds the main theme. The idea is that the situation is favourable. With all expectations the poet is waiting for the waking up of his beloved one. His desire—his passionate feeling is expressed in the repetition. The poet in fact is longing for the union with his life-god who is in the hush of his own being.

d) IOho IOho, tule IOho nirObo binakhani

'Take up, take up, take up the silent veena (a musical instrument).' (Author)

The extremely eager entreaty is shown in this repetition.

5) In this section examples of reduplicated structures occurring in the above mentioned songs are presented. Structurally, these are case suffixes, finite verb forms or non-finite verb forms. There is no need to mention that these occur side by side in the same sentence. The features¹⁴ indicated by the reduplicated forms are presented below, along with examples:

Distributive plurality: *bone bone* 'in each and every forest'; similarly, *pataY pataY* 'in each and every leaf', *trine trine* 'in each and every grass', *phaMke phaMke* 'in each and every gap', *gache gache* 'in each and every tree', *Dale Dale* 'in each and every branch', *aRale aRale* 'secretly', *kone kone* 'in each and every corner', *ghaSe ghaSe* 'in each and every grass', *khOne khOne* 'in each and every moment', *juge juge* 'in each and every era', *raSi raSi* 'in each and every heap', *dike dike* 'in each and every direction', *dine dine* 'in each and every day', *tale tale* 'in each and every rhythm', *pOthe pOthe* 'in each and every path', *dhulaY dhulaY* 'in each and every dust', *muHu muHu* 'in each and every moment', *bar(e) bar(e)* 'in each and every time', *nObo nObo* 'new'. Maximum of the reduplicated structures show this feature. There are other features also manifested in a less number of examples. For example:

Distributive plurality with exclusiveness: *phule phule* 'in each and every flower only', *Sure Sure* 'in each and every tune only', *bOrne bOrne* 'with each and every colour only', *paYe paYe* 'with each and every step only'.

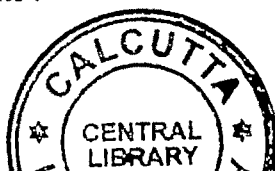
Certainty or definiteness or emphasis: *jani jani* 'I know very well', *jani ne jani ne* 'I do not know', *holo na holo na* 'not done', *mele na mele na* 'not achieved', *eSeche, eSeche* 'has come', *Sunechi Sunechi* 'I have heard', *ache-ache* 'it is there', *bulaYo bulaYo* 'touch'.

Pervasiveness with exclusiveness: *aloY aloY* 'in the light only', *meghe meghe* 'spread among clouds only', *gaYe gaYe* 'on the body only'.

Desideration: *jabo jabo* 'I am going'.

Continuation and eventuality of action: *jete jete* 'as walking'.

Simultaneity of action: *Sune Sune* 'While hearing', *boSe boSe* 'while sitting', *dule dule* 'while swinging', *rohia rohia* 'while pausing, at times'.



Degree of manifestation with exclusiveness: *mone mone* 'at heart only', *dhire dhire* 'very slowly'.

Now let us take few verse lines for citation in texts. The repeated finite verb form *hEro* *hEro* 'Look at, look at' in the following text expresses emphatic request.

a) ore bhai, phagun legeche **bone bone** –

Dale Dale phule phOle **pataY pataY** re,

aRale aRale kone kone.

.....

hEro, hEro Oboniro rONgo

gOgonero kOre tOpobhONgo.

'O brother, Phagun (=spring) has touched forests –

branches, flowers and fruits, leaves also

in hidden places and in corners.

.....

look at, look at the luster of the earth

which breaks the penance of the sky.'

b) e gan amar **srabone srabone** tObo bisriMtisrotero plabone

phiria phiria aSibe tOroni bohi tObo SOMman.

'This song of mine, from Sravan to Sravan, on a flood of memories forgotten, will come to you again and again with a boatload of appreciation.' (Bardhan)

The reduplication here is expressive of distributability and frequentability.

Conclusion

The above analysis based on a limited data reveals that there are plenty of parallel patterns and patterns of repetition in Tagore's songs. The patterns are also of varied kinds. Structurally, though parallelism and repetition - these two concepts are not identical but semantically as observed in the analysis they can be interpreted almost in the same way. They are so remarkably employed in the songs that they can very well be identified as two style markers of Tagore's songs. The study, of course, does not claim to be exhaustive. It is a representation of what can be identified as style markers in Tagore's songs.

List of Symbols:

With some modifications transcription follows Ray, Punya Sloka, Md. Abdul Hai & Lila Ray.1966. *Bengali Language Handbook*. Washington. D.C.: Center of Applied Linguistics.

/O/ Back low-mid rounded vowel, /E/ Front low-mid unrounded vowel, /T/ Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop, /Th/ Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop, /D/ Retroflex voiced unaspirated stop, /Dh/ Retroflex voiced aspirated stop, /R/ Retroflex unaspirated flap, /N/ Velar nasal, /M/ Nasalization, /S/ Alveo-palatal voiceless sibilant, /s/ Dental voiceless sibilant, /Y/ Semivowel e, /W/ Semivowel o, /y/ Semivowel i, /w/ Semivowel u.

Notes and references

1. See Tagore, Rabindranath. *Sangitcinta*. 2004. Kolkata: Visva-Bharati. pp.323.
2. Excerpts from Talks in China. See Tagore, Rabindranath. *Sangitcinta*. 2004. Kolkata: Visva-Bharati. pp.350.
3. There is a difference of opinion regarding the number of songs composed by Tagore. According to Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay (*Gitabitan Kalanukramik Suchi* [A Chronological Index of Gitabitan] Vol.1:11) the number of songs is 2232. Subhas Chaudhuri in his *Gitabitaner Jagat* (The world of Gitabitan, pp.171) mentions the number as 1915. Sudhir Chakraborty in his *Rabindranath – Anekanta* (2009, pp.65) writes the number as 1896. Maybe their approaches to enumeration are different.
4. Songs presented as examples have been taken from Tagore, Rabindranath. *Gitabitan*. Kolkata: Visva-Bharati. Volumes 1, 2 and 3; Translations are from Bardhan, Kalpana. 2008. *Of Love, Nature and Devotion—Selected Songs of Rabindranath Tagore*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Kushari Dyson, Ketaki. 2010. *I won't let You Go. Selected Poems Rabindranath Tagore*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India 2011; Chaudhuri, Sukanta. 2004. *Selected Poems Rabindranath Tagore*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Som, Reba. 2009. *Rabindranath Tagore: The Singer and His Song*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India; Radiche, William.2011.*Gitanjali*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India; Winter, Joe. 1998. *The Gitanjali of Rabindranath Tagore*. A Writers Workshop Redbird Book and http://www.gitabitanen.blogspot.in/2010/01/01_archive.html
5. Jakobson, R. 1960. 'Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics'. In: Sebeok, T.A. (ed.) *Style in Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press. pp.350-377.
6. Jan Mukarovsky. 1964. 'Standard Language and Poetic Language', In: *A Prague School Reader of Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style*, trans. P.L. Garvin. Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp.17-30.
7. Leech, Geoffrey. 1969. *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*. London: Longman. pp. 62.

8. Ibid.
9. "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination. Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence" (Jakobson, R. 1960. In: Sebeok, pp.358). Again, "In poetry not only the phonological sequence but in the same way any sequence of semantic units strives to build an equation" " (Sebeok, pp. 370). And the outcome is parallelism.
10. For more examples in different Indian languages including Bangla see Bhattacharya, Krishna. 2009. Prasanga: Samantaralata (On Parallelism) (In Bangla), In: *Journal of Comparative Indian Language & Literature*, Vol. 1. Kolkata: Calcutta University. pp. 136-147.
11. Leech, Geoffrey. 1969. *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*. London : Longman. pp. 67.
12. op. cit., pp. 65.
13. ibid.
14. For semantic features of Bangla reduplicated structures see Dattamajumdar, Satarupa. 2001. *A Contrastive Study of the Reduplicated Structures in Asamiya, Bangla and Odia*. Kolkata: Subarnarekha.

Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in the Bengali Writings of Swami Vivekananda

Sumita Bhattacharya (Bhaduri)

Abstract : Code-switching and Code-mixing are byproducts of bilingualism. These are also socio-psychological processes. In Swami Vivekananda's Bengali writing different types of Code-Switching and Code-mixing are found. This article is a short analysis of Code-switching and Code-mixing in Swamiji's writings in Bengali.

Key words : Code-Switching, Code-Mixing, Inter-sentential, Intra-sentential, Code-Shifting.

Code is an ambiguous term. Code-switching, Code-mixing, Code-shifting – these terms are used in Sociolinguistics. The word code in these terms 'broadly refers to the systematic use of two or more languages or varieties of the same language during oral or written discourse'. (Mahootian 2006 : 511). The use of two or more languages in sentence or clause level is inter-sentential mixing. This type of mixing is termed as code-switching. Code-mixing is found in intra-sentential level where the mixing is in phrase/word/morphemic level. Code-shifting covers both the terms – code-switching (inter-sentential) and code-mixing (intra-sentential). Code-shifting is a socio-psychological phenomenon. Competence in more than one language leads to this shifting. The attitude of the speaker, topic of the discourse, relationship between speaker/writer and hearer/reader, their education, age, sex, class, profession, community etc. i.e. – many non-linguistic factors work behind the code-shifting.

Gumperz (1982:77 ff) has listed six factors used in code-shifting. These are – 1) Quotation 2) Specification 3) Interjection 4) Reiteration 5) Message qualification 6) Personalization versus objectification.

Unequal social prestige between two languages also leads to the process of code-shifting. Whatever may be the cause – social/contextual/situational or whether it is intentional/unintentional code-shifting is a communicative skill of the bilingual speakers – 'which speakers use as a verbal strategy in much the same way that skillful writers switch styles in short story. (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 1972 : 98).

Swami Vivekananda's writings and sayings were generally in English. However, he wrote a little in his mother tongue Bengali in his short life span. He wrote in Bengali generally for Udbodhan, a Bengali periodical published from Ramakrishna Mission. All his writings published in Udbodhan have been published later in forms of four books – namely Bhabbar Katha, Parivrajaka, Pracya O Pascatya and

Vartamana Bharata. Besides these four books Ramakrishna Mission has published his letters in a book as Vivekanander Patravali where we get almost 150 Bengali letters written to different persons from 1880-1902 AD. Swamiji's Bengali writings have occupied an important place in Bengali literature for its power of expression, use of different styles and uniqueness of presentation. Use of code-switching and code-mixing in his Bengali writings are worth-noticing factors. This article is devoted to analyse the code-switching and code-mixing i.e. code-shifting in the Bengali writings of Swami Vivekananda.

Now-a-days code-switching and code-mixing are always taking place in day-to-day conversation of younger generation of Bengali speech community. Their writing in Bengali is also full of such mixing of codes. In the nineteenth century when Vivekananda wrote his Bengali writings the code-switching and code-mixing with English were highly condemned by the educated Bengalee people. This type of code-shifting was used by the Bengali writers only with satire. After the Independence of India the mentality of the Bengalees has been completely changed. As 'guest language is associated with prestige by speakers of the host language'. (Asher 1994 : 578) English is used in Bengali conversation off and on as a result of code-shifting. What was the cause of demotion of the status of a speaker has been changed as a cause of raising his status.

Swami Vivekananda could use English as an English man but his Bengali writings were free from English code. His respect for home culture has been expressed by avoiding English at the time of Bengali writing. Even he coined new Bengali words to avoid the use of English words – as we get 'citrākṣara' for Hieroglyphic writing, 'Sarkarā-utpādak' in place of 'starchy' and so on. Consciously and intentionally he avoided code-switching and code-mixing of English in his Bengali writings which were written by him to publish in Udbodhan or in other journals. He also intentionally did not mix English codes in his formal letters. On the contrary Swamiji switched over to English at the time of writing letters to his co-disciples from USA and Europe where he stayed at a stretch almost for four years (1893-1897) and one and half year (1899-1900) in the second time. These were completely personal letters. He instructed in the letters to the addressee not to show or not to publish those letters to anybody or to anywhere. Thus he was not conscious about the use of language. He concentrated only to express his ideas. As a result he unconsciously and spontaneously switched over to English because at that time he could not get opportunity to speak in Bengali, he used always English and at the time of writing Bengali unconsciously he mixed English. Thus some of the Bengali letters written to his co-disciples from foreign have become good instances of code-mixing and code-switching – as in 6/413.

i) kabitā - phabitā poḍe tāder kono upakāranei *We as a nation have*
poetry etc reading their any benefit-not

have lost our individuality and that is the cause

After that a full paragraph was written in English. The next paragraph started with Bengali then – ended with English as.

ii) *nije rojgār korbo, kore deśe jābo and devote the rest*
in my own earning will-do doing country-in will-go

of my life to the realization of this one aim of my life.

In this way letters written to his co-disciples are full of English code switching. Code-mixing is also found in these letters numerously – as in (7/314)

iii) *āmāder bhetar yadi keu sahāyātā kare in my plan – all right;*
our among if somebody help does

naile kintu Gurudeva will show me the way out
otherwise but Guru

not only this mahotsave will be his memorial but the central union of his
(grand festival)

doctrines. tabe samaye samaye I fret and stamp like a leashed hound. Onward and
but time-in time-in

forward - āmār purāno buli
my old saying

As the letters started with Bengali address to his co-disciples and ended with Bengali we consider these letters as Bengali otherwise in the number of words, phrases or sentences English portion is more in quantity than Bengali. This type of mixing and switching of codes of English is found in the language of younger generation of Bengali society.

Swami Vivekananda was well-versed in the Sanskrit language. Most of the Sanskrit books available at that time were memorized by him. He quoted spontaneously from these books at the time of writing Bengali articles or letters. His respect for home culture has been expressed in the use code from the Sanskrit language. It may be mentioned here that in his English writings and lectures he used Sanskrit slokas frequently but at the same time he gave the English translation also. In a Bengali letter (8/170) written to Mrinalini Basu he wrote Sanskrit sloka with Bengali translation. He gave translation because he knew his hearer/reader would not be able to follow the meaning of Sanskrit. However, he did not restrict himself to use Sanskrit at the time of using of Bengali or English. Sanskrit code-mixing is the chief feature of Swami Vivekananda's writing. Here we can mention few examples to have the idea of his Sanskrit code mixing -

Part of the famous slokas was given in the mid of a Bengali sentence –

i. *vakṣasthale 'utthāya hr̥di tīyate' hoila*
in heart getting up in heart adhered to became

‘It came and stuck in heart’.

(vol.6:43)

ii. sei apūrva susvādu himasītala ‘gāṅgyaṃ vāri manohārī’ – āṛ sei ...
that excellent delicious as cold as ice Ganges-of water charming and that

(vol.6:61)

‘Where is that excellent, delicious, ice-cold, charming water of the Ganges – and what is’

(iii) oi āse oi āse – śrī hāṅgarer jonno ‘sacakitanayanam paśyati’
that comes that comes Sri shark-of for with eager eyes sees

tava panthānam’ hoye roilām
your roads being stayed

(vol.6:102)

‘We were eager to see the shark – as – he comes – he comes – in this way.’

Sometimes Swamiji deleted some portions of the sloka –

(iv) baḍo choṭo dhanī daridra sab bonduk ghāḍe
Big small rich poor all gun on shoulder

berula - ‘paritrāṇāya vināśāya ca duskṛtām’
came out for rescue for destruction and wicked persons-of

‘All the persons – aged, child, rich, poor came out with guns to rescue to destruct the wicked’.

At the time of writing Swamiji used Sanskrit in different ways. He used a full sloka or some words of a sloka — either first or last part which part he thought important for his expression. Even a single Sanskrit word was used at the time of writing as code-shifting – as in

v) raktacoṣā antardadhe
the blood-sucker went away

(vol.6:102)

‘That blood-sucker went away.’

vi) śūdrapūrṇadeśer śūdrader kā kathā
of the country full of sūdra of the sūdra what word

‘What is to be said about the sūdras in the country which is full of sūdras.’

Swamiji sometimes explained the meaning of Sanskrit words in different ways as in

vii) akhaṇḍmaṇḍalākāram vyāptam yena carācaram - tomrā yāhāke
full-round shaped spread by which everything you-pl to whom

balo, tini-i ei mudrārūpī anantaśaktimān āmār haste
tell he-indeed this like a coin with endless strength my hand-in

‘What you tell --- the round-shaped entity by which the whole universe is covered -
-- he is in my hand as most influential thing i.e. as coin.’

Sanskrit is mixed in Swamiji’s Bengali writing --- in the first part of his sentence, in
the middle or in last part of his Bengali sentence.

viii) ‘*phalānumeyāh* *prārambhāḥ*’ - i haḍāi ucit
inferring the result the beginning indeed being should be (vol.7:372)

‘The beginning should be introduced inferring the result’

ix) Tu-bhāyā bālabrahmacārī ‘*jalanniva brahmamayena tejasā*’
Mr Tu performing calebacy from the childhood burning as by Brahmanaya with energy

‘Bālabrahmacārī Mr Tu is burning with Brahmanaya energy’.

Swamiji’s brain was full of Sanskrit slokas --- thus Sanskrit phrases were added in
Bengali sentences not as quotations but as part of the sentence – as in

x) niścīt niścīt iti me matiḥ (vol.6:321)
surely surely this my opinion

‘Surely – it is my opinion’

We use many Sanskrit sentences as proverbs in Bengali. These have become the
loan elements in Bengali as persons not knowing Sanskrit use these proverbs.
Swamiji used many of those proverbs. We need not mention them. But it is to be
noticed that different parts of many unknown Sanskrit slokas have been used by
Swamiji as proverbs in his Bengali writings – as in

xi) pratyeka jīvaner uddeśya tāhāi – *bhidyate hṛdayagranthiḥ*’ ... ityādi
every life-of motto is that is pierced the string of heart (etc) (vol.6:294)

‘The motto of every life is that --- the string of heart is pierced etc.

Popular proverbs or part of ślokas were used by him off and on – as

xii) tāhā haile āmāder deśer ‘*aho durdairvam*’
that being our country-of Oh! ill fate

‘Then it is bad luck of our country’

Generally educated Bengalees knew Sanskrit at that time. Thus Swamiji mixed Sanskrit codes from different books because he knew his readers would be able to understand the meaning.

Swamiji mixed not only Sanskrit in his Bengali writing he also mixed Hindi, Perso-Arabic, French codes -- as 'witty, quick, elegant shifts between codes are often appreciated in the speech community. Proficient bilinguals or bidialectals who switch codes consciously or unconsciously achieve particular social, political or rhetorical effects' (Mc Cormick 1994 : 586).

For French code he also gave the proper pronunciation along with the Bengali meaning --- as in (vol.6:199)

- i) āmāy bārombār balen – tomāder deś *très ancien très civilisé*
to me again and again say your-pl country very ancient very civilized

--- ati prācīṇa, ati suśabhya
Very ancient very civilized

- ii) Barnharḍer bhārat dekhbar icchā baṇoi pravala *c'est mon rêve* – se
Barnhard-of India to see wish very strong that my dream that

āmār jīvan svapna
my life dream

- iii) ṭākār abhāva tār nei 'lā *divin Sārā !*
money-of wanting his-hon. not divine sara (vol.6:120)

Hindi mixing is also found in Swamiji's Bengali writings – as

- i) Rājputānār cāraṇ ye gāilen --- *Turugaṇko baḍhi jor*
Rajputana-of bard that Sang Turks-of very strength (vol.6:207)

'The Turks are very strong'

- ii) yadi janmecho to ekṭā dāg rekhe yāo 'Tulsī yab
if you are born the one mark keeping go Tulsī when

jagme āyo jag hase tum roy. eysī karanī kar
world-in came world laughed you cried in such a way work do

calo ki tum hase jag roy
go that you laugh world cry (vol.6:162)

'You should leave a mark in this world as Tulsida told that 'when you came in this world everybody laughed but you cried. Do such a work that when you leave this world you will laugh and everybody of this world will cry.'

This type of Hindi quotations are profusely found in Swamiji's writing. Hindi words are also used as code mixing – as in the sentence (vol.7:256)

iii) kintu kăjer bela to khoj khabar nāhi pāoye
but work of time then where about not got

‘But at the time of work I do not see you’. (vol.6:144)

iv) anya thākur ki dekhbo? bhal bābā Ājid, debtā to
other God what will see good oh father Azid God indeed
tūhi hay, as mārō, sārāko ki abhi tak rabat
you are what beat to the wicked that now upto cries

‘What will I see as other deity? Oh father Azid, you are real God as in such a way you beat that the wicked person that till now he cries.’ –

some portions of a Bengali letter written to Swami Akhandananda (vol.7:401) in 1897 –(Hindi, English and Sanskrit have been mixed.)

karma kara, karma hām āor kuch nahi māngte he – karma karma
work do work I more anything not want is work work

Karma unto death bhyālā mor bhāi āysāi calo It is the heart that
work well my brother in this way go

conquers, not the brain ār yā kichu nedam yadidamu –
more that something not this if it is

- pāsate -- ei to ārambha,
worshipped this indeed starting

Arabic Persian words are mixed in his writing to get the environment of Lucknow City – (vol.6:45)

be-sumār loke samāgam kāphagāpher viśuddha uccāraṇa
numerous people-of union of the letters of alphabet pure pronunciation

laskarī javāner puṣpavṛṣṭi ābā – kābā chust payjāmā tāj –
of army of speech flower-shower appearance chost payjāmā

modāsār raṅgberaṅg saharpasand dhaṅg
of crown etc. colourful favourite in the city style

Varieties of style and regional varieties are present in every language. Swamiji believed that the dialect of Kolkata region should be considered as standard Bengali. He also believed that spoken form i.e. – colloquial style of Kolkata should be the vehicle of literary Bengali. The language of literary Bengali should not be artificial. A Bengali writer should not imitate artificially the Sanskrit language. For this reason at the time of Bengali writing he has mixed code of colloquial style with literary style. (vol.6:121)

as in tāke kore phellen be
to him doing completed married

‘He married her.’

be 'marriage' is a colloquial form. The literary form should be *bie*. He, however, used the code of colloquial style. (vol.6:179)

kachhapādi	jale	cheḍe	diye	saibhya	hocche
tortoise etc	water-in	leaving	giving	civilized	is being

'They are being civilized after leaving tortoise etc. in the water.'

Here *saibhya* is a word of Bañgāl dialect of Bengali. Using this dialectal code he wanted to indicate that the persons are of East Bengal origin. (vol.6:95)

emni	go-beḍen	dile	ye
Such	beating to a cow	gave	that

the word *go-beḍen* was not used in writing, it was used only in colloquial style.

In this way words from colloquial style as *śor* for *śuor* 'pig', *siñgi* for *siñho* 'lion', *gappi* for *galpo* 'story', *garmi* for *garom* 'summer', *dyāl* for *deḍāl* 'wall', *māggi* for *mahārgha* 'expensive' etc. -- many many codes from colloquial style have been used by Swamiji in his writing.

The past tense indicating suffix *-lam* of Standard Bengali is always used in writing. Vivekananda mixed the suffix *-lum* in his writing as in

ābār	anek	bondhuke	caṭālum
again	many	friend-to	made angry

-lum is typical to Kolkata dialect. It is never used in written Bengali. Swamiji used this *-lum* suffix to indicate past tense, first person in most of his writings –

kata	vārinidhi	dekh ^{lum}	sun ^{lum}	diñnu ^{lum}	pār ho ^{lum}
so many	seas	I saw	I heard,	I toppled	I crossed

Non standard Bengali suffix for past tense, 3rd person indicator is– *le*. In standard Bengali it is *-lo* but in Kolkata dialect – *le* is used with transitive verb in past tense, third person. Swamiji used this suffix *-le* as in

e	cākā	pratham	kor ^{le}	ke?
this	wheel	first	did	who

'Who did first this wheel'?

In standard Bengali it should be – *korlo* (third person.)

This *-le* suffix in past tense, with transitive verb is used by Swamiji in many words.

Likewise the suffix for present continuous and past continuous starts with *ch/cch* sound in standard Bengali but with *c/cc* in Kolkata dialect. Swamiji used the suffix of Kolkata dialect in his writing as

ye	dike	icche	mukh	pherācce
that	direction-in	wish	face	turning

pherācce is used in place of *pherācche* of Standard written Bengali. Suffixes of continuous tense with *c/cc* sound is found in many verbal forms in Swamiji's writings. Not only the words or suffixes of dialect of Kolkata are used in Swamiji writing — the code of honorific pronoun/noun is also used by him with non-honorific pronoun. Third person non-honorific pronoun/noun is not conjugated with the inflection ending with the sound – *n* but honorific noun/pronoun frequently takes ending with final – *n*

Swami Vivekānanda mixed the code of the ending of honorific with non-honorific noun/pronoun —

as –	niḥśvāsa	berute	nā	berutei	dāḍite	jome	yāccen
	breath	coming out	and	coming out	in beard	stuck	got

dāḍi i.e. 'beard' is non-honorific but Bengali honorific suffix with – *n* ending is added by Swamiji. It was his regular practice in Bengali writing to use the honorific suffix with non-honorific form.

Code mixing and code switching from different languages and within different styles and dialects of Bengali in syntactic, lexical and morphemic levels at the time of Bengali writing by Swami Vivekananda have given his writing a new beauty which was unique in nature.

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Sociolinguistic and Pragmatic Studies on Bangla Greeting Expressions

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Abstract : Modes of greeting have an important role in the sociology of a language. Being tied with social convention and attitude, it expresses the socio-psychological need of individuals in a given society. The use of the modes of greeting is mostly determined by various situations and participants in the communicative acts. This paper is an attempt to present a brief sociolinguistic and pragmatic descriptions of the verbal and non-verbal modes of greeting with special reference to the Bangla speech community in West Bengal. To investigate the use of greeting forms data have been collected from literary texts and observations.

1.0 Introduction

Understanding of everyday life through the 'study of conversation' has added a new dimension to contemporary sociolinguistic and pragmatic investigation. As a consequence, peripheral language corpus often neglected being described as 'casual utterances' (Voegelin & Harris 1960: 62) or 'linguistic routines' (Hymes 1961:57) has come into new focus for recognizing speech forms and speech events in a specific socio-psychological context.

This paper attempts to have a sociolinguistic and pragmatic descriptions of one of such neglected areas of peripheral language, namely modes of greeting with special reference to the Bangla speech community. The main emphasis is here on Hindu community, who constitute the main bulk of the Bangla speaking population current in West Bengal. The effort has been made here to discuss different types of greeting used by Bangla native speakers. The data has also been collected from Bangla literary texts and spoken corpora in order to look into varied types of greeting forms in different contexts.

Greeting is important as well as frequent in social interactions all over the world. It is the primary necessity satisfying the socio-psychological need of a society. In every greeting situation, two or more persons come into contact in a particular ethnic situation. Greeting expressions are shared between the members of a community

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either to say *welcome* or *Good-bye*. Every social relationship is at least partially statable in terms of the role structure of the greeting. "Appropriate greeting behaviour is crucial for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships." (Li Wei 2010 : 56). It is interesting to note that greetings are not merely adherence to certain rules and norms laid down by behavioral etiquette, but they are more than this (Mehrotra 1985: 83). Greeting is a "sort of roughly prescribed social ritual, in which you generally say, what the other fellow expects you, one way or the other, to say." (Firth 1957a : 31). Significantly, the pattern of the greeting formula is intimately connected with the hierarchical gradation of the social structure on the one hand, strategies of interaction on the other. Modes of greeting may vary from culture to culture as also from person to person.

1.1 Forms of the Greeting expression

The form of a greeting expression is at least in part determined by some properties of the utterance such as (i) the form of address ; (ii) the form of the pronouns; (iii) use of certain lexical elements expressing politeness. For instance,

(i) *form of address* : In a kin-based society, kin terms are used with both kin and non-kin for addressing someone. Obviously, age is one of the major criteria for deciding an appropriate type of greeting form. For example,

1. *kaku* kothaë collen
uncle where going
'Uncle, where are you going ?'

(ii) *form of the pronouns* : Social factors such as degree of intimacy, social status and age come into play for using pronouns as greeting forms.

2.a <i>tui</i> kothaë colli you(-hon) where going 'Where are you going ?'	b <i>apni</i> kothaë collen ? you(+hon) where going 'Where are you going?'
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(iii) *use of certain lexical elements* : In formal situation, lexical elements (the *italicized* forms) are also used as address forms for the persons who are superior to addresser in terms of age and /or social status.

3a <i>Sukhen-babu</i> kothaë collen ? Sukhenbabu where going 'Sukhenbabu, where are you going ?'	b <i>mofaer</i> namṭi ki ? sir of the name what 'Sir, what is your name?'
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Sometimes an address form is not overtly expressed as in *kothaë colle* ? "Where are (you) going?" The interactants who do not have a solidarity relationship may greet one another without any form of address. The absence of the formal features of greeting may also depend on age factor. An elderly person can greet to younger

folks by freely using expressions without any address term or personal name such as *bhalo* ? "Are you okay?"; *ki khobor* ? "What is the news?" etc.

1.2 Significant features of the Greeting language

We need to mention here three significant features in relation to the language of greeting, namely (i) compositeness; (ii) conventionality and (iii) indexicality.

1.2.1 Compositeness

Greeting terms being referred as a 'language of encounter' often display a composite make-up with an amalgamation of both verbal and non-verbal mode of expressions in a dynamic context of human communication.

Modes of greeting fall under the general purview of 'ethnography of encounter' (Goffman 1963 : 91) with 'social occasion' as its structural unit. Mehrotra precisely identifies that every greeting situation involves a 'protocol of encounter', characterized by an opening move in the form of statement, a gesture and some paralinguistic features (1985:91). Goffman (1963) asserts that every social occasion is necessarily accompanied by some sort of activity. For instance, the event of Hindu marriage ceremony truly incorporates the recitation of Vedic hymns. Earlier Malinowsky strikingly conceptualized language as a 'mode of social action' rather than a mere reflection of thought (1922:43).

The remarks of both Malinowsky and Goffman look to be quite relevant in the greeting context. It is commonly observed that even a mere verbal expression gets accompanied by some kind of non-verbal performance, either implicit or explicit. The non-verbal gestures may include *folding of hands*, *smiling*, *nodding*, *hugging*, *closing of eyes*, *bowing of head* or *twinkling of eyes* etc. The strict formulation has been given by Mehrotra : "Non-verbal behaviour appears to be such an indispensable part of greeting that it is often implied in the very utterance of a greeting phrase." (1985:81).

For instance, when a Hindi speaker utters '*namaste*', it automatically implies 'I touch your feet'. When a Bangla greeter verbally pronounces *namaskār* /*nomoʃkar*/, it usually goes with non-verbal expressions like 'folding of hands' or some micro-gestures such as smiling or nodding etc. Gumperz (1965:97) inclines to believe that linguistic and non-linguistic messages are not mutually substitutable in a greeting situation. However, it often happens among the Bangla community that a person prefers to substitute the verbal expression like '*namaskār*' by a non-verbal gesture of touching the feet of the person senior in age or status (such a non-verbal act is reported in Bangla as '*pranāṭi tarā*' "to touch the feet in obeisance"). It is true to say that in a community non-verbal behaviour in many cases is more predominant and stronger in comparison to verbal expressions, being implied with a covert realization. The fullest and richest interpersonal relationship may be initiated through the combination of both speech and non-verbal behaviour. However, this

combination, strictly speaking, should not be arbitrary or random, instead they are governed by certain rules and combinations.

1.2.2 Conventionality

The greeting phrases refer not only to the '*language of encounter*' but also to the '*language of convention*'. Conventionality is another significant feature involved in the modes of greeting. Greeting formula in most of the cases is highly conventionalized with its responses fixed and stereotyped. Gumperz notes that the meaning or contextual interpretation of the greeting terms would entirely change if there is an alteration of suprasegmental features or replacement of a component lexical item by an otherwise referentially equivalent item. (1978:21). We may consider a dialogue- exchange between two greeters in a Bangla community :

A : ki kæmon achen ?
(How are you ?)

B : bhalo / ei cole jacche. / * khub kharap
(well / okay , it is going on / *very bad)

The expected answer from B should not be * *khub kharap*. In that case, there is every chance for violating the greeting norm. In reality, "there is little freedom for individual ingenuity or creativity in this matter unless one wishes to sound both exotic and eccentric." (Mehrotra 1985: 82).

Gumperz argues that primary determinant of greeting is the 'communicative necessity' because it meets the socio-psychological need of the individual (1971:121). Nonetheless, it is better to say, contrary to Gumperz's opinion, that greeting situation invites the establishment or maintenance of phatic communion. In fact, greeting is a highly skilled communicative behaviour, which functions to facilitate the management of interpersonal relationship (Laver 1975 : 237).

Communicative information is normally of 'zero value' in a greeting phrase. Eades makes a distinction between '*substantial information*' and '*orientation information*' with emphasis on the latter in a greeting phrase or question (1982:72-74). Sometimes both of the types are getting combined in a greeting expression. When a Bangla speaker greets the other on the road by uttering : *ki bhalo to ? kothaë collen?* (Are you okay ? Where are you going?), the first one relates to *orientation information* and the latter seeking *substantial information* about the greeter's place of journey.

Interestingly, greeting phraseology being associated with 'orientation information' often consists of an enquiry about one's health. We may consider following synonymous greeting utterances from different languages:

English : How are you ? / Bangla : *kāmon achen* ? / Hindi: *ap kaise hēy* ?

Meitei : *kāmdāwri* / Punjabi : *ki halcal hē* / Kashmiri : *va:ray chiva*: etc.

Such type of enquiry does not mean that the addressee would come out with all of the ailments that he at the moment is suffering from. The addressee as a greeter, following the convention, would say that he is feeling well either by the grace of the God or that of the addresser. The exception to this greeting situation has rightly been made use of by Tagore for creating the conscious effect of humour in his one act drama 'Sūkṣmabīcār' (Hāsyakautuk , vol.iii).

Kēbalrām : *maśāy, bhālo āchen* ? (Sir, are you okay?)

Caṇḍīcaraṇ : '*bhālo āchen*' māne ki ? (What do you mean by '*are you okay?*')

Kēbalrām : *arthāt, sustha āchen*. (I mean, are you well ?)

Caṇḍīcaraṇ : *svāsthya kāke bale* ? (What do you mean by 'Health' ?)

Similarly, in a *leave-taking* situation, a Bangla speaker says 'good-bye' to others usually by uttering : *accha abar dēkha hōbe* (okay, we will meet again). It does not certainly mean that both would meet again. Hall explains similar situation for his Iranian friend, who was quite frustrated by the literal promise of his friend living in United states : 'Well, I'll see you later.' But they never met. (Hall 1955:90). So, a greeting phrase is very often characterized by a kind of 'playfulness and mystification'. (Mehrotra 1985: 82).

In a conversational situation, conventionality frequently being added with politeness leads to violation of 'maxims' proposed by Grice (1975) in his cooperative principle. For instance,

Beṇī : *eī ye Rameś, ekbār elām--bāra jarurī kāj--mā esechen nāki* ?

(Hello, Ramesh, I have come to visit you--very urgent need--did mother come?)

Gobinda: *āsbe bai ki bābā, ekbār āsbe. e to tomāri bāri*.

(My dear, of course you will come. You will come here hundred times. After all *this is your own house*.) [Ramā : Saratchandra Chatterji, vol.ii p.437).

Here, Benibabu as a guest is greeted with an untruthful and exaggerated statement (shown in *italics*) describing addressee's (Ramesh) own house as the property of Benibabu. Therefore, '*maxim of quality*' is violated following Grice. Such type of *over-statement* is a very common feature current in the language of greeting. Let us consider another example:

Madhu : ... āmar sātpuruṣer bhāgyi ye dokāne āpnār pāyer dhulo paṛlo. basun.

(This is a fortune for my seven generations that your legdust is going to be left here. Please be seated.) [Ramā : Saratchandra Chatterji, vol.ii p. 441]

1.2.3 Indexicality

Indexical aspect of greeting often gives a feed back to reveal the socio-psychological organization of a community, particularly its religious sentiments, spirituality and national characteristics.

First to say, the concept of time appears to be very much significant in framing greeting expressions. Usually, greeting refers to some unit of time, which is desired to be auspicious. Thus the usual greetings in English for different parts of the day are 'Good morning', 'Good afternoon', 'Good evening'. The Germans say 'Guten Morgen', French uses 'Bonjour'. The Japanese and Chinese greeting though referring to the time unit are devoid of the epithet 'good'. In contrast, verbal greetings in Bangla, quite comparable to the situation in Hindi speech community, do not show separate greeting phrases allocated for different parts of the day.

However, there is no denying that time factor often plays a deterministic role in deciding the nature of greeting expressions. Some of the greetings are specifically reserved for definite occasions. For instance, *Vande Mātaram* "worship to the mother" was once used by the revolutionist of Indian Independence movement for greeting each other. But now the Congress party members use the same phrase as a slogan for celebration of each other. *Jay Hind* is exchanged more prominently on Independence Day and Republic Day.

Similarly, some of the verbal and non-verbal greetings are exclusively employed in particular Hindu festivals. Hindu community normally exchanges *Śubha Bijayā* and *Śubha Nababarsa* respectively after the immersion of the image of Goddess Durgā (after *Daśamī*, i.e. the tenth day of the festival) and on Bangla New year's day. *Embracing* is also a special kind of greeting gesture mode used by the same group of people during the *Bijayā Daśamī*.

Mehrotra (1985) remarks that sometimes even repetition of a greeting expression gets decided by the time variable. For instance, in Hindi the greeting forms *Rām-Rām* or *Namaste* is repeated several times when two friends meet after a long time interval. In contrast, the term is used only once in case of regular meeting. Such type of repeated structure is also found in Bangla. This happens especially in case of cordial welcome for a friend/guest while meeting after a time-gap (such as *aṣun-aṣun* 'please come' or *nomofkar-nomofkar* 'salutation').

Similar is the position for the students who greet their parents by touching their feet before appearing for an examination. Occasionally, it may also happen that a person

refrains from saluting his friend or boss while meeting him more than once in a day. In that situation, one 'either looks away or merely smiles' (Post 1922: 29). The Bangla community generally applies *nodding* or *smiling* in these circumstances. Occasionally, greeting expressions are minimized by the use of *bhalo* 'Are you okay?' and the expected response becomes a small gesture from the greetee.

The notable feature in Banglā is that of using the same type of verb forms for greeting the invitee both in 'welcome' and 'leave-taking' situation. In fact, different connotations we get for the verb forms in a same paradigm. Let us consider examples from Bangla literature:

- (i) Candrakānta : maśāy, anumati hay to ekhan āśi.
(Sir, if you permit, I shall leave now)
- (ii) Nibāraṇ : tabe āsun. (Okay, then you leave.)
- (iii) Candrakānta : āre, āre eso Nalinda. bhālo to.
(Oh! Nalinda please come. Are you okay ?)
[Gorāy galad : Rabindranath Tagore, vol.ii p. 260,264]

Both the verb forms *āsi* and *āsun* (root : ās 'to come') are in use by the greetees [(i) and (ii)] normally as greeting terms in a *Good Bye* or *Leave Taking* situation. In contrast, (iii) exhibits the application of the verb form *eso*, derived from the same verb root, in *welcome* situation. Occasionally, the greeter uses the *future* tense of the same verb form (*abar asben* 'please come again') to invite the guest for the next time, at the time of his valediction.

Interestingly, we notice, the verb forms used in (ii) may apply in a completely contrastive connotation in some specific circumstance. A person may avoid the unwanted guest by uttering *ebar aḥun* 'You may leave now'. Therefore, the same expression *aḥun* may be exercised as *greeting phrase* or as an expression of *avoidance*.

It is curious to note that the expression like *ami ækhon jabo* 'Now I will go' is not commonly in use when one is taking leave from the other. The use of the verb root *ja*- 'to go' is almost used as a *taboo* in this particular context, because it signifies the eternal departure characterizing death. Sometimes the senior interactant corrects the other one by saying *jaī bolte nei, bolo aḥi* "Don't say 'I am going', say 'I am coming'". Therefore *jaī* gets frequently replaced by *aḥi*. The situation is quite comparable to the greeting pattern reflected in Meitei language (Betholia 2007 : 113).

Queries about one's health, well-being and prosperity regularly become a common feature in the greeting expressions. Such greetings are invariably used while

addressing a person of inferior / equal status, or a superior person. Some of the common forms of this type may be quoted here :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>kæmon achen</i> ? (How are you ?) | 4. <i>khobor bhalo</i> ? (Is everything okay ?) |
| 2. <i>forir bhalo to</i> ? (Is your health okay ?) | 5. <i>bhalo achen to</i> ? (Are you okay?) |
| 3. <i>job kufol to</i> ? (Is everything okay ?) | 6. <i>baṭir job bhalo to</i> ? (Is everything okay in your house ?) |

Examples are also available in literary discourse :

- (i) *Satyadās : sab maṅgal to* ? (Is everything well ?)
pratham rakṣak (First Guard) : *ājñā hā*. (yes, as you please)
[*Kṛṣṇakumārī* : Madhusudan Dutta, p.112]
- (ii) *Śiromaṇi : hujurer dehaṭi bhālo āche?* (Is your health okay, Sir?)
Jībānanda : ... (*hāsiyā*) *hā bhāloi āche*. ([smiling] yes it is well indeed.)
[*Śoraṣī* : Saratchandra Chatterji, vol.ii p.504]

We may note another remarkable feature referring to a common custom of the orthodox Hindu community in West and East Bangla. A senior member of the family on meeting a near relative or dear one, no matter how strong or well s/he may be looking, addresses him/her by saying 'How thin and worn you look ?' ; 'Have you been ill?' ; 'How sadly you have changed since I have seen you last ?' etc. In Bangla the greeting expression may be framed as follows:

- (iii) *kæmon achij* ? *forirṭa beṭ kharap bole mone hocche*. (How are you ? You look to be sick, as I suppose).

Mehrotra comments that these types of remarks are taken generally as compliments. On the contrary, the motives of the greeter look doubtful if s/he praises the greatee for his/her excellent health or good appearance (1985:89).

Not only greetings but even replies to them may have expressives referring to greeter's health, happiness, well-beings and long life. Some of the phrases in Bangla are quite common: *fukhi hoṭ* (Be happy); *bhagoban tomar monḡol korun* (May God bless you); *ækfō bochor poromaēu hok* (May you live for hundred years.) etc.

Examples may be given from Bangla literature :

- (i) *śiromaṇi* : ... *āśīrbād kori dīrghajībī hao* (I bless for your long life.) [*Śoraṣī*, p.528]

- (ii) *kañcuri*: *eso kalyān hauk* (Please come, let you be happy.) [Padmābatī :Madhusudan Datta , p.69]
- (iii) *sairindhrī* : *janmāyati hao, pākā cule sindūr paro* (Let your husband live for ever.You put vermilion on your gray hair.) [Nīldarpaṇ.: Dīnabandhu Mitra, p.12]

The last example is a typical welcome phrase earlier exercised by the orthodox women in a Hindu community. They were generally applied to greet the married women while wishing a long life for their male partners. It is also worth noting that the greeting phrases cited above, are commonly used by the superiors to their dear inferiors in the form of blessings. But they are never employed by the subordinates to their superordinates or by a friend to his associate as a form of welcome.

Some of the greeting forms are predominantly religious in character as in Bangla : *bhagoban tomar mongol korun* (May God bless you); *thakur tomake fumoti din* (May God give you the good sense.). It often comes about that a particular deity is praised and his blessing invoked in a typical religious center /setting. For instance, *joē gopal* (Salute to Lord Krishna); *joē śhṅkar* (Salute to Lord Shiva); *joē ma tara* (Salute to Goddess Tara) etc. It appears from the above greeting terms that Hindu worship of the plurality of gods is well reflected in the pluralities of deities. Furthermore the greeting phrases may well be accepted as tokens among the fellow believers of the same religious sect.

1.3 Types of Greeting

Bangla generally uses three types of greeting:

(i) *Interactive greeting* : They include inquiries like *kāmon achen* ? 'How are you?'; *khobor ki* ? 'What is the news?' etc. They are not real inquiries but used as friendly salutes. The addressee can either answer the inquiry and start a conversation or take it as a mere salute and respond with similar inquiries. The expression carries a sense of *informality and intimacy*.

(ii) *Regards greeting* : It assumes the form of giving regards to others : *moṣāi, śob kufol* to 'Sir are you okay ?' ; *nomofkar kāmon achen* ? 'Salute, how are you ?'

So, it has a shade of *elegance and formality*.

(iii) *Paralinguistic greeting*: This type includes *paralanguage* and *facial expressions*.

In other way, we may broadly classify two types of greeting in Bangla : *verbal* and *non-verbal*. Both types may either be formal or informal in nature. They are certainly characterized by social setting, context and interpersonal relationship. In most cases, non-verbal greeting gestures and verbal greeting utterances are combined together (as in case of uttering *nomofkar* with folded hands).

Occasionally, non-verbal gestures, contrary to Hymes' estimation, stand itself to greet the others (such as touching feet, handshake, embracing etc.). Hymes is of opinion that respect relationships are always expressed at least partially in speech (1967: 638). But this view seems not to be tenable. In many situations, as in Bangla, gestural greeting appears independent of speech.

1.3.1 Non-verbal greeting

Hindu community in West Bengal generally uses following common greeting gestures for greeting others :

† Folding hands	† Raising hand (generally to say good-bye)
† Standing from sitting posture	† Prostration
† Handshake	† Kissing
† Touching feet	† Embracing
† Nodding head and smiling	† Salutation

Some of the gestures are quite restricted and formal in nature. For instance, *prostration* is specially exercised to show respect to the non-human deities or to the *gurus* by their disciples. Similar is the situation with *salutation* used by the armies and comrades to their bosses. *Kissing* and *embracing* are also contextually constrained. *Embracing* is a welcome gesture used by the Bangla community in a festive occasion, as in case of *Bijayā* greeting after Durgā pūjā festival. *Kissing* is a sign of endearment shown by the elders or parents to the juniors usually on their cheek/forehead. *Touching feet* is a show of respect to the elders by the juniors. On the other hand, *folding hands* is a very common welcome gesture used for persons having familiar relations or close intimacy with the greeter. Even the same is exercised for a person who is going to be introduced first time with the greeter. *Standing from sitting* position is a very frequent gesture applied by the juniors/subordinates to their seniors/superordinates as a sign of reverence. Interestingly, *raising hand* is a typical gesture (occasionally with a verbal utterance *ta ta* explicitly by the children) employed in a 'good-bye' or 'leave taking' context. *Nodding head* or *smiling* is also an appropriate expression, put into effect sometimes as an alternative to folding hands.

Educated persons of equal status and same sex *shake hands* and greet habitually by saying *hello*. Friends of equal status use the same gesture irrespective of their age. There are also informal gestures like patting on the cheek or touching the head of the other in case of friends having intimate relationship.

What deserves notice is that every culture has its own set of formalized 'greeting kinemes' involving some kind of motor habits. (La barre 1964 : 198). Hall further points out 'What are good manners in one context may be bad in the next.' (1955:84). For instance, Eskimo greeting consists of hitting with the fist on the

person to be greeted. But elsewhere as in most parts of India, this is the manner of insulting people. So, non-verbal forms of gesture reflect the cultural diversity.

Greeting is related to social etiquette in every culture. But violation of this social protocol leads to a devastating consequences. For instance, refusal to extend one's hand for handshake or turning one's face away from a greeter would certainly lead to a break of the social ritual. From the communicative aspect, greeting is normally of 'zero value'. In spite of that, violation of the greeting norm causes disappearances of that *zero value*, as it reflects the lack of respect for the addressee.

1.3.2 Verbal greeting

Verbal greeting as like the non-verbal one may take place both in formal and informal situations. Most of the fixed verbal greetings are used in conversation and writing. Generally, formal greeting occurs in writing as in personal letters (such as for initial address in a letter to the respected persons or seniors, we write *śrīcaraṇeṣu, pūjanīya* and finally *praṇāmānte, namaskārānte* etc.).

In conversation, *formal greeting* may take place between persons of asymmetrical status, participants of different age or sometimes between communicators unfamiliar to each other. They are also employed in a situation when one wants to make an apology to someone or seek help of others (Koul and Bala 2001 : 93). The literal meaning of a few greeting expressions are not relevant in many cases, as noted earlier. Some constructed examples for formal greeting in Bangla may be referred here :

A : জব কুজল তো ? (Is everything okay ?)

B: ংগে অপনাদের সুভেচ্ছাওঁ কো জাচ্ছে. (Yes sir, it goes on as per your good aspiration).

Informal greeting on the other hand comes into use mostly between friends, persons of symmetrical status or between communicators having intimacy. Sometimes they are brought into use by the elders to their juniors. A large number of illiterate people in rural area are habituated to use informal greeting expressions.

It is significant to note that formal and informal greeting are both avoided commonly between husband and wife or among children. Notably, a mother-in-law in a non-urban society always prefers formal non-verbal forms of greeting while conversing to her son-in-law. An example of informal greeting expression may be mentioned in this context :

A: are! kəmon achij, job thikthak to ? (Hi ! how are you ? Is it everything okay?)

B: eī kole jacche. tor ki khobor ? (It is going on. How are you ?)

Some contrast between formal and informal greeting may be cited here from Bangla literature:

(i) *Formal greeting* :

1. Nibāraṇ : ei ye Candrabābu. āste ājñā hok. (Hello Candrababu, you are requested to come.)

2. Candrakānta : maśāy, anumati hay to ekhan āsi. (Sir, if you permit, I can take leave) [Goṛāy galad : Rabindranath, vol.ii p.158,160]

(ii) *Informal greeting* :

3. Candrakānta: āre, āre eso Nalindā. bhālo to ? (Ah! Nalinda, please come. Are you okay?) [*ibid*, p.264]

4. Bhaktaprasād : ke o, Ananda nāki? eso bāpu eso, bāṛī esecho kabe? (Who is here? Is it Ananda? please come, my boy. When did you come home?) [Buṛa śāliker ghāre rō : Madhusudan Dutta,p.52]

(iii) *Combination of both types* :

Rājā : āre Dhanadās ? eso eso, tabe bhālo ācho to ? (Hello! Dhanadas, please come. Are you okay?) [Informal]

Dhanadas : ājñā, e adhīn mahārājer ciradās. āpnar śrīcaranprasāde er ki amaṅgal āche? (Yes sir, this subordinate is always a servant of the king. Is there any harm for him who is gifted by the grace of your honoured feet?) [Formal]

[Kṛṣṇakumārī : Madhusudan Dutta, p.89]

1.3.3 Fixed and Alternative categories

Modes of greeting in Bangla cover a varied range of formalistic responses. Occasionally, the same greeting term can have either a single-word or multiple-word responses depending on context or situation. For example,

(i) nomojkar-nomojkar

(ii) nomojkar-nomojkar -nomojkar, aḡun, boḡun,bolun kæmon achen ?
(Salutation, please come, be seated and say how are you ?)

Greeting in Bangla, from the point of view of its predictability of response, may fall under two categories: (a) *Fixed/Closed category* which have only one fixed response and thereby the maximum predictability; (b) *Alternative / Open category* admits more than one response. They allow for alternatives with limited predictability. It is quite evident from the examples that greetings reciprocated in the same form (as in case of *namaskār* or *jai Hind*) do not generally have alternative responses.

Notably, Hindi preserves two forms *namaste* / *namaskar* in contrast to Bangla having a single form *namaskār* [nomoʃkar]. The forms in Hindi have a distinctive use with respect to formality: *namaste* is less formal than *namaskar*. In contrast, Bangla form, being used both in formal and informal context, does not have any such distinction. Nonetheless, Bangla often shows a code shifting to English for using *Good Morning* or *Hello* among friends, colleagues or strangers, more or less of equal status.

What deserves attention is that the fixed greeting may not always be reciprocal in nature. Their use may vary depending on status of the participants and situations. A junior may greet his/her boss with a higher social status by uttering '*namaskār*', but may receive a non-verbal or non-formal greeting form in return.

The following table shows that the greeting expressions characterized by fixed responses are usually employed between the persons of symmetrical status. On the other hand, the open category gets different sets of responses when addressed to members of the symmetrical and asymmetrical dyads.

A. Closed category

Relationship	Greeting	Fixed response
(i) Symmetrical (status equal)	nomoʃkar Hello Good morning joʃ guru/ joʃ radhe/ joʃ gopal etc. joʃ hind/ vande matorom	nomoʃkar Hello Morning joʃ guru/ joʃ radhe joʃ gopal etc. joʃ hind/ vande matorom
(ii) Asymmetrical (status unequal)	nomoʃkar	nomoʃkar

B. Open Category

(i) Symmetrical	ki khabor? (What is the news?) kãmon achen ? (How are you ?) job kujol to? (Is it okay ?)	bhalo (good) ei cole jacche (It goes on) motamuti cole jacche (More or less, it goes on) bẽce achi ei porjonto (This is enough that I am living)
(ii) Asymmetrical	kãmon acho bolo (Say, how are you?) job thik colche to? (Is it okay?) job kujol to? (Is it okay ?) pronam (salutation) [often with non-verbal gesture]	apnader fubhecchaẽ cole jacche (It goes on by your good aspiration) apnader ajirbade keje jacche (It continues by your blessings) agge apnader doẽã bhalo (It is well by your kindness, Sir) fukhi hoõ / fukhe thako (Be happy) kollan hok (Let you be well) bẽce thako/ dirghojibi hoõ (May you live long !) bhãgoban tomake rokkha korun / (May the God protect you) bhãgoban tomar mongol korun (May the God be good to you)

The alternative responses are of two types as evident from B(i) and B(ii). The alternative greeting expressions may have the motivation for inquiry about general well-being of the addressee. It may even be a sign of affection or respect to the other communicants or occasionally good wishes / blessings from the seniors to the younger ones (Koul 2004 : 103).

The closed/fixed greeting forms like *jōē guru / jōē tara* etc. are generally employed between the members of a particular religious commune or sect. This is quite comparable to the position for Sikh community who habitually greet each other saying *sāt sārī ākal* or *va guru ji ki fāte* (to greet religious priests or saints etc.). Examples may be given from Bangla literature:

A. Formal and closed greeting [status : asymmetrical]

1. (Ichu Sekh) : -- sālām paṇḍitjī---

(Salutation to Panditji)

(Debu paṇḍit) : -- bhālo ācho Ichu-bhāi

(Are you well Ichu-brother ?)

[Gaṇadevatā : Tarashankar Banerji, p.187]

B. Formal and closed greeting [status :symmetrical]

2. --- Debu dāṛāiyā balila -- Yatinbābu, āsi tā hale. namaskār

(Debu stood and said : Yatinbabu, okay then I shall leave. Salute)

Yatin balila—*namaskār Debubābu. bidāy.*

(Yatin said : salute to you Debubabu. Good bye.)

[*ibid*, p.306]

C. Formal and open greeting [status : asymmetrical]

3. Rājā : naradebgaṇ, tomāder sakalke namaskār.

(King : Salute to all of you, oh! God-men)

Sakale : jayastu rājan.

(All : Oh ! king, let you be winner.) [Acalāyatan : Rabindranath, vol.vi p.334]

4. Kālī : (praṇām) (prostration)

Kartā : cirajībī hao bāpu

(Master : Let you be long-lived, my son.)

[ekei kī bale sabhyatā : Madhusudan Dutta, p 36]

D. Informal and open greeting [status : asymmetrical]

Rebatī : mā-ṭhākruṇ paṇām kari.

(Rebatī : Oh! Respected mother, I bend my head to your feet.)

.....

Sābitrī : sukhe thāko. sāt beṭār mā hao.

(Sabitrī : please be happy. Let you be the mother of seven sons.)

[Nīldarpaṇ : Dinabandhu Mitra, p.13]

E. Informal and open greeting [status : symmetrical]

Ramā : āpni bhālo āchen ? (Are you okay ?)

Rameś : hā bhāi bhālo (Yes, dear I am okay.)

[Ramā : Saratchandra Chatterji, vol.ii, p.427]

1.4 Sociolinguistic variables :

The main structuring elements of a greeting situation in Bangla can be identified with reference to some sociolinguistic variables (defined by Mehrotra, 1985), which determine different types of greeting :

- Spatio-temporal setting
- Participants
- Channel of greeting
- Purpose of greeting

1.4.1 Spatio- temporal setting

Time and Place, binding a social occasion, are two important dimensions of a greeting situation. Fishman's concept of *domain-appropriateness* may significantly be applied here for understanding the greeting expressions in a Place-time framework. Fishman observes : 'A particular set of domain-appropriate people interact with each other in domain-appropriate locales and during domain-appropriate hours.' (Fishman 1968 a : 38).

Sometimes the same person, for the sake of domain-appropriateness, uses different modes of greeting in different places and at different points of time. Beggars are the ideal examples being considered as extremely deferential (Banton 1965 : 130). A beggar belonging to a Bangla community often greets his/her client in front of the temple of the Goddess Tārā by saying : *joḍ ma tara* (Glory be to the mother Tārā) or *tara ma tomar mongol korun* (Let you be happy by the grace of mother Tara) etc. But the same beggar greets his/her visitor by the phrase *baba taroknather corone*

seba lage (at the service for the feet of Lord Tāraknāth), while staying at the location of Shiva temple in a specific place. An extreme situation comes about for the beggars in Banaras, who do use different greeting phrases at different points of time of the same day and at different places (Mehrotra 1985 : 92).

Even in normal communication the Bangla speakers use different verbal and non-verbal expressions in different spatio-temporal set up. For instance, a superior person on the busy road is often greeted with folded hand and the common Bangla expression *namaskār*. In contrast, the subordinate one greets the same person at the home by touching him at the feet (*praṇām*). On the other hand, s/he may greet his/her Guru or the God with prostration.

There are certain forms of greeting, which are prescribed in one place and proscribed in another setting. For example, inside the classroom, the students usually greet their teacher just by standing up and often with a verbal expression *Good Morning Sir / Madam*. However, the same students normally greet their teacher outside the class while pronouncing *namaskār* with folded hands or *Good Morning*.

Similarly, two residents of the same town when meet at a distant place, tend to exchange greetings. But they may or may not have been even on nodding terms with each other at their own place of residence. The linguistic communication at a distant place on such occasion may run like this : *bhalo ? kabe elen ? bərate na kaje?* (Are you okay? When did you come ? Is it only for travel or for some work?).

1.4.2 Participants

Participants need to be categorized into two types for the study of the modes of greeting in Bangla context :

- (i) Social identity of the participants: their age, sex, education, religion, class, caste, occupation and status etc.
- (ii) Nature of relationship between the greeters: formal vs. informal; kin vs. non-kin ; superior vs. inferior ; intimate vs. non-intimate etc.

Participants may be of two types : (a) Participants both are human beings. (b) The greeter is a human being and the greetee a non-human (a deity, animal or an inanimate object).

Greeting to deities generally consists of phrases in which the particular God / Goddess is hailed. For example, in Bangla, hare Kṛṣṇa (hail to God Bishnu and Krishna); jay Tārā (hail to Goddess Kālī); jay Śiva Śaṅkara (hail to Lord Shiva) etc. Another mode of greeting going around the idol of God or temple several times is described as *parikramā* (Mehta 1914: 268).

1.4.2.1 Gender difference

When both of the participants are human, Gender difference may play a significant role in various verbal and non-verbal greeting. However, gender differences in most cases overlap with other core factors like age and status to determine a particular choice.

1. Greeting between men :

Between man and man, the participants may just say *namaskār* /hello or (Good) *Morning* (response comes generally as '*morning*'). The greeting phrase may also contain the information about the health of the others. Occasionally, fixed greeting phrases like *jai bhagabān* (hail to God), *jai Gopāl* (hail to Lord Krishna), *jai Guru* (hail to Guru) etc. are also made use of. The non-verbal greetings like *folding hands*, *handshake*, *nodding* or *smiling* etc. are also applicable between the communicants of similar status or similar age groups.

2. Greeting between women :

Generally, there exists no sharp difference between men and women in the process of greeting exchange in Bangla context. Women also greet the other members of the same sex by uttering *namaskār* with non-verbal gesture of nodding, smiling or folding hands. Occasionally, in an urban community educated women greet each other by *Hello* or *good morning* etc. However, it is worth noting that the greeting and the opening words of woman addressing the other woman are likely to have as their content, comments expressing appreciation about each other's appearance or dress. For instance, a woman in Bangla community greets other lady by saying : *apnar šariṭa beṣ fundor. roṅṭa khub manieche* (Your dress is very beautiful. The colour of it is a perfect match for you.). Even information about the health or education of the son and query about the family members may be a routine enquiry in case of greeting exchange.

Typical greeting pattern of the women society in the form of blessings may be quoted from the Bangla literature. But such expressions are specifically restricted for the orthodox Hindu community representing non-urban society and culture.

Sābitrī : *sukhe thāko. sāt beṭār mā hao.* (Be happy. Be the mother of seven sons).

[Nīldarpaṇ : Madhusudan Dutta, p.13]

Sairindhrī : *janmāyati hao. pākā cule sindūr paro. pāter na' kṣay yāk.* (Be the woman with living husband for ever. Mark your grey hair with vermilion. The iron wristlet [sign of a living husband] in your hand be non-decaying.) [*ibid*, p.12]

3. Greeting between opposite genders:

The women in an orthodox non-urban society often maintain veil while greeting the elderly members in their husband's house. Some greetings are considered as exclusively feminine, when a woman turns her back or covers her face while greeting the male members. Nonetheless, such type of feminine gesture was quite a standard norm for the formerly prevailing orthodox social pattern in Bangla community.

In contrast, women, in the modern urban society, achieve upward mobility as a result of education, economic freedom and free mixing with men. Therefore, she most frequently tends to discard the feminine greeting in favour of relatively masculine greetings. In the present social scenario, an educated and employed woman no longer turns her back or covers her face while greeting a male. The tendency of adopting masculine gesture is noticeable for the employed women. A few greetings like *namaskār/ hello/ (good) morning* etc. are used as common for both sexes. Even non-verbal gestures like folding hands or handshake are often considered as open category for exchange of greetings.

1.4.2.2 Age difference

The age of the participants also play a significant role. Following table shows the examples of greeting exercised by the participants belonging to different age group.

A	Man greeting Man/ Woman	Age of the receiver	Greeting	Response
		Younger to Elder	nomofkar	mongol hok (let you be well) fukhe thako (let you be happy)
		similar age	nomofkar/ hello/ Good morning/ jōē guru (Hail to the guru)	nomofkar/ morning/ jōē guru etc.
		Elder to Younger	ki khōbor (what's the news?) / bhalo to (Are you okay ?/ kāmōn colche? (how is it going on?)	apnader jubhecchāē bhalo (it is okay by your good aspiration)
B	Woman greeting Man	Younger to Elder	pronam / nomofkar	ačūfmoti hōō (Let you live a long life) fāmī putrō nie fukhe ghor kōrō(Let you live a happy life with your husband and children)
		similar age	nomofkar/ hello/ good morning	nomofkar/ hello good morning
		Elder to Younger	kāmōn acho (how are you ?) / bhalo to (Is it ok?)	bhalo(okay) / apnader āfīrbade bhalo (It is okay by your blessings)

C	Woman greeting woman	Younger to Elder	pronam/ nomoŋkar	aɕuŋmoti hoð (Let you live a long life) bɕe thako (Let you live)
		similar age	nomoŋkar/ joɕ guru/Hello	nomoŋkar/ joɕ guru/ Hello
		Elder to Younger	kæmon ? / bhalo to? (How are you? /Is it okay?)	bhalo (okay)/ apnader fubhecchaɕ cole jacche (It continues by your benediction)

Usually the younger persons greet the elders first. Touching of feet, bowing salutation are the familiar features to greet the senior persons in our Hindu community. Kissing on forehead/chin / cheeks is a common gesture for the elders to the juniors, specifically for the parents to their children. It is also important to note that the verbal reply from the senior member, as in the above examples, habitually comes in response to the non-verbal greetings from the younger one.

Truly speaking, age is not always the deciding factor for acquiring the greeting status. (Brown 1965 : 104). In many situations, elders greet the younger by virtue of the latter's social position including wealth, education, status etc. It often happens on ceremonial occasion, men and women irrespective of their age greet the priest of teen-age by touching his feet. During *Upanayana* of the Brahmins, even the parents touch the feet of their son acquiring the status of a *sannyāsī*. Same state of affairs occurs for a teen-age girl during *Kumārī Pūjā* in *Nava-Rātri* days.

Moreover, it is quite common in our society that a teacher is greeted by the students even when the former is younger in age. A boss in a company is greeted by his subordinate, senior in age. Mehrotra rightly comments that 'Age ... particularly outside the kin-group, is rather a weak component and is often superseded by more potent factors like class, occupation, rank and wealth.' (1985: 97).

1.4.2.3 Education and Occupation

These are the other significant features controlling mode of greeting. For instance, a person educated in western style would prefer in an urban setting to be greeted with expressions such as *Good Morning*, *Hello*, or a non-verbal expression like handshake etc. However, this is not a widespread phenomenon. Due to cultural pressure Bangla community habitually maintains the verbal expression *namaskār* and the non-verbal gesture of *folding hands*.

Occupation may also control shape and meaning to one's identity, role and personality. David Crystal (1971:192) has pointed out that distinct voice tones are often heard in English for people engaged in different professional activities, such as lawyer, street vendor, sport commentators, radio announcers etc. Like voice tone, certain modes of greeting go with certain specific occupational roles. For instance,

in our community, a street-hawker uses different modes of greeting in comparison to the cloth merchant selling his goods in a shop. A person playing different occupation roles immediately switches to a greeting appropriate to the role of situation. For instance, a priest if happens to be an office clerk is greeted by his *yajmān* (client) with prostration or touching of the feet, while he serves the first professional role. But he being in the second professional is generally greeted with folded hands. It is worth noting that the same greeting is expressed with a variety of paralinguistic features like *stress*, *pause*, *tone* etc. combined with gestural expression. For example, uttering the word *namaskār* may convey different degrees of deference and reveal different kinds of relationship depending on nature of paralinguistic features and body language.

1.4.2.4 Activity based Greeting

Some of the greetings are governed by some activity or festivity. Some special activities have special greetings tied to them. Mehrotra (1985:102) refers to different situations such as bathing, smoking, drinking, wrestling salutations used by various communities on the eve of respective activities. The musical performers have their own way of salutations before starting their performance. This is quite relevant even in Bangla community. The performers touch their ears in order to show respect to their Gurus. The cricketers or footballers, before the game started, usually touch the playground by hand for showing respect to their profession. We may also refer to different festivals, rituals, ceremonies etc. These greetings in return have some blessings. During marriage time a traditional blessing is showered as greetings by the priest on bride and groom. When younger people bow down to touch the feet of the elder one, during marriage or birth ceremony, the elders give their blessings of good health and prosperity or longevity (as in Bangla *bhēce thako* 'let you live'; *fukhe thako* 'let you be happy' etc.). These blessings in the form of greetings are often combined with gestures like touching the back or head of the younger people. We have already noted some of the special greeting terms current in Bangla community as *śubha bijayā* 'happy winning' after the Durga pūjā festival or *śubha nababarša* 'happy new year' during Bangla New Year (cf. 1.2.3).

There are some special greetings linked with various political ideologies. For instance, *vande mātaram*, *jai hind* etc. are used by the members of the National Congress Party (cf.1.2.3). The clenched-fist salute of the communists was introduced in opposite to the fascist salute with extended and outstretched hand. In fact the typical gesture and verbal expression at once reveal the political identity of a person.

1.4.2.5 Social hierarchy and caste structure

The dimension of social order often classifies people as superiors, inferiors and equals in terms of different social parameters like age, sex, occupation, education, income etc. Such type of social stratification has rightly been recognized by Firth (1957b : 10). Crystal notes that in Bolivian language, an individual with lower

social or economic status addresses one of higher rank with a prominence of nasalisation for all vowels in the utterance (1971:191). Similar is the case in American English as noted by Brown & Ford: '*Hi*' is more common to intimates and to subordinates while *Good Morning* is for distant acquaintances and superiors (1964:240). The same hierarchical gradation is notable in the pattern of greeting for highly stratified Bengali Hindu community: In a gathering of superiors, equals and inferiors, generally superiors are greeted first, then equals and last of all inferiors.

The social gradation may also be identified by considering the following types of greeting accessible in Bangla literature.

- (i) Jībānanda : tumi ke ? (who are you ?)

Ekkari : [with prostration] hujurer naphar Ekkari Nandī (I am Ekkari Nandi, the servant of the Sir.) [Śoraṣṭi : Saratchandra Chatteji, vol.ii p. 486]

- (ii) rājā : āre Dhanadās ? eso,eso tabe bhālo ācho to ? (Oh! Dhanadas ? please come, are you well ?)

Dhanadās : ājñā, e adhīn mahārājer ciradās. āpnar śrīcaranprasāde er ki amaṅgal āche ?

(By your order, I am always the subordinate servant of the king. Is there any curse for me by the gift of your great feet?) [Kṛṣṇakumārī : Madhusudan Dutta, p.89]

- (iii) Madhu : yā e ye āmāder choṭobābu ! prātaḥpenṇām hai. (Oh! this is our junior sir ! Morning salute to you.)

Mudi (Grocer) : āmār sātpuruṣer bhāgyi ye dokāne āpnār pāyer dhulo paṛlo. basun.

(this is the luck for the seven generations of my family that your leg-dust has fallen here. Please be seated.) [Ramā : Saratchandra Chatteji, vol.ii p.441]

It is also a custom in our society to greet the visitors at home by offering specific things depending on their status and age. For example, people may be offered *pān* "betel leaf" as a greeting gesture (excluding the child, junior members and the person of low status). Notably, this is a custom current for both men and women. Similarly, in some special occasion, as in *Bijayā*, people in Bangla community are greeted compulsorily by offering sweetmeat. The male members of similar status and age, if smokers, greet each other by presenting cigarettes. Obviously, this does not take place for persons of different age, sex and status. The children and the juniors having a neutral status are often greeted with a toffee or chocolate as a token of love and endearment.

We may note that the individual who attains higher position in the social hierarchy receives more greetings from the persons belonging to lower strata. Thus greeting among the equals tends to become very brief and simple, while those addressed to

persons of higher status are wordy, pompous and ceremonious. (Mehrotra 1985 : 105). This is particularly observable in written mode of communication, as in formal opening address of a letter.

Emeneau brings to our notice that the forms of greeting are also determined by the caste structure of the person addressed and of the person addressing (1945 : 465). The orthodox Hindu community frequently reflects the inherent caste system in the society. Hopkins (1971: 127) makes a note that in our ancient society, superiority of the Brahmins and the inferiority of the śūdras are truly mirrored in various modes of greeting and responses. The status which is based on caste is unchangeable, being fixed at the time of birth (Brown 1965 :103) .

However, fluidity is an important feature in our caste hierarchy (Duncan 1968 :271). The trend of mobility can be both upward and downward depending on the role one plays in a society, irrespective of the caste he belongs to. For instance, a person though Brahmin in caste will not normally be greeted if he serves the role of a peon, cook or a driver. In contrast, a lower caste people will be greeted in a same fashion when he serves the higher administrative role. Caste in fact is a *melting pot* in the modern society. One of the basic reasons is socio-political movement for upliftment of the depressed class. Secondly, unlike earlier times, multiple roles can be played by any caste and each role will call for a specific norm of behaviour.

1.5 Channel of Greeting

Channel of greeting may be of two types : (i) verbal / non-verbal ; (ii) oral / written.

1.6 Purpose of greeting

The function of a mode of greeting often gets controlled by communicative intention. Greeting language is used not only to convey sense of respect but also for other purposes .Those are as follows :

- To win a favour from the addressee
- To express gratitude
- To seek a pardon
- To establish a phatic communion

(i) *to win a favour* : In many situations, the purpose of greeting is not to convey respect but to seek a favour. For instance, when a sales representative approaches to a person junior to him in status, his greeting is not in a true sense to show respect to the person but to get him as a consumer. Interestingly, we may have two contrastive situations in which greeting may/may not be exchanged. When a consumer buys some products from a shop, he may not exchange any greeting with the seller. But he usually greets the seller in a polite manner in getting favour for a change of

hundred rupee note: *ækʈa ækʃo ʈakar noʈ bhanje deben pliz* 'Will you give a change for hundred rupee note, please.'

(ii) *to express gratitude* : When a person gets favour from the other one, it is customary to greet him also. This is not in fact to convey respect but to show thankfulness for the favour done. For example, a man getting help from the other person in distress usually utters : *bhəgoban apnar bhalo korun* 'Let you be well by the grace of the God' or *apnake ojossro dhonnobad* 'many many thanks to you' etc.

(iii) *to seek a pardon* : Greeting may also be employed to ask for pardon in an Indian context. An act of apology is commonly accompanied with specific modes of greeting. There are some common expressions for apology in Bangla such as *pāye parā* 'touching other's feet', *hātjoṛ karā* 'folding hand' etc., which are essentially modes of salutation in greeting language. For example,

(a) *hatjoṛ korchī*, ebarer moto map kore din 'I am folding my hands, forgive me for this time.'

(b) *apnar pae porchi*, ar erokom bhul hōbe na 'I am touching your feet, this type of mistake would not be done by me again.'

It is notable that generally two special gestural greetings (folding hands and touching feet) are used in Bangla community for seeking apology. But one cannot substitute the expressions for apology by the words of greeting —**apnake nomojkar, map kore din* 'Salute to you, forgive me'. There is a collocational restriction; words in the first clause cannot collocate with those in the second clause.

Mehrotra (1985) argues that expressing respect and seeking apology can be clearly distinguished. In the first instance, one shows his respect either by the non-verbal gesture (such as touching the feet) or simply by the verbal communication (as in *namaskār*). But while seeking apology one uses both verbal and non-verbal gesture simultaneously. However, the distinction is not always very sharp. For instance, touching of the feet to show respect is usually not accompanied by verbal greeting in Bangla community. But in case of folding hands in a welcome situation, verbal greeting is generally associated with non-verbal gesture. On the other hand, one may seek regret in a special situation by simply uttering the expression of apology but remain silent in using non-verbal gesture.

(iv) *to set up phatic communion* : Greeting establishes social ties by a set of verbal conventions (Whitley 1966 : 144). Hayakawa nicely pointed out that the communicants often become very careful to select subjects in which agreement is immediately possible for establishment of phatic communion [as in case of some communities, to talk about weather is a comfortable subject for setting up a phatic communion] (Hayakawa 1952 : 72). Some of the common opening phrases in Bangla for establishing phatic communion are as follows :

- (c) kothaē collen ? 'Where are you going?'
- (d) apnake cena cena thekche 'It appears that you are known to me.'
- (e) aj bōdḍō gōrom, na 'Today is very hot, isn't it?'
- (f) apnar hater kagojta ekṭu dekhte pari ? 'May I look into the newspaper in your hand?'

2.0 Pragmatic functions of greeting

Greeting is a system of signs that convey other than overt messages. Austin's speech act theory becomes helpful in explaining how do people take covert messages (intention or good-will of the speaker) from this intricate sign system.

Austin assumes that utterances are the production of words and sentences on particular purposes. So, according to Austin, "to say something is to do something." (1962: 12). Austin asserts that speech act consists of (i) *locutionary* acts which have a meaning; (ii) *illocutionary* act having a certain force in saying something ; (iii) *perlocutionary* acts which achieve certain effects by saying something. (*ibid*, p.120).

Illocutionary acts are conventional acts and mainly differ in their illocutionary force or immediate purpose. Austin classifies six types of illocutionary acts : (i) *Assertives*, (ii) *Directives*; (iii) *Commissives*, (iv) *Expressives*, (v) *Effectives*, (vi) *Verdictives*.

According to this classification, greetings fall into the category of *Expressives*, because they are usually employed to express certain feelings towards the Hearer, such as *apologizing, congratulating, thanking, greeting* etc. Notably, *expressives* are not taken in the literal sense. When a Bangla speaker asks an addressee: *kāmon achen ?* 'how are you?', he is not necessarily concerned about the physical condition of the addressee. Li Wei (2010) notes that when a Chinese speaker makes an enquiry by the expression '*Have you eaten ?*', he is seldom bothered about the Hearer's hunger, rather he intends to convey his warm affection and consideration towards the addressee. The routine answer from the Hearer is 'yes'. In contrast, the negative answer would put the greeting person in an awkward situation. So from the pragmatic perspective, greeting can be considered as *illocutionary act*. In fact, 'the understanding of the covert meaning of greetings by the interlocutors in daily conversation lies in the routinization of such expressions.' (*ibid*, p.57).

2.1 Greeting as politeness strategy

Greetings are highly conventionalized following patterned linguistic routines concerned with politeness in social interaction. However they should not be treated as spontaneous emotional reaction as suggested by Firth (1972 : 29-30). Notably, Laver (quoted in Qian 1996) pointed out that greetings are essentially the tools of polite behaviour and their use is guided by a polite norm. So, he employs Brown & Levinson's (henceforth BL)

politeness theory to explain the function and use of greetings. Laver notes that BL applied the concept of 'face' after Goffman (1967). The 'face' refers to that emotional and social sense of 'self' that everyone has and expects else to recognize' (Li Wei 2010 : 58). They make a distinction between *negative face* (the desire that one's action be unimpeded by others) and *positive face* (the desire that one's wants be desirable to at least some others). In conversational acts, various politeness strategies need to be used to enhance the positive face or to maintain the negative one. It goes without saying; one should maintain the enhancement of face in the process of greeting. For instance, English greeting expressions, such as *Hello* or *Good Morning* or Bangla *namaskār*, are used to maintain or enhance the Hearer's *positive face*. However, it depends on the status and social setting of the participants.

2.2 Greeting strategies

The typology of politeness strategies designed in BL model may rightly be applied to the analysis of greeting strategies. BL did not discuss greetings in detail in the framework incorporated. Some of the researchers even questioned the relevance of the model in explaining Greeting strategies. But still the framework may successfully be applied for categorizing greeting strategies with some necessary modifications. BL(1978) describe five distinct strategies, a person can apply with a *Face Threatening Act* (FTA) to maintain the participant's *negative face* or to enhance their *positive face*. Notably, politeness strategies are concerned with interactant's face. They are used when doing FTAs, which can threaten the speaker's face as well as the Hearer's. The five strategies are as follows : (i) bald on record ; (ii) positive politeness; (iii) negative politeness; (iv) off-record; (v) not doing the FTA. They may rightly be modified in the context of greeting strategies : (a) bald on record; (b) positive greetings; (c) negative greetings; (d) off-record greetings; (e) not doing the FTAs (Li Wei 2010 :59). For instance,

(a) *Bald on record* : It refers to the strategy in which a conversation starts without greetings. It happens in short conversations between family members, friends or colleagues. This is also used when maxims of efficiency overrides the maxims of politeness.

1. A : kaj kotodur egolo 'What is the progress of the work ?'

B : ei colche. 'It is going on.'

2. A : tarataṛi colo 'Let us go quickly'

B : nijco-i 'Certainly '

The first conversational situation may occur in the office between two colleagues in a hurry. The second instance generally comes about in an emergent situation. Here, greetings are dispensed due to urgency.

(b) *Positive greetings*: They are directed towards Hearer's positive face and are frequently activated to please the addressee.

3. apnar kōtha onek junechi.

'I have heard a lot about you.'

4. tomake ki fundor dækhacche !

'You are looking so beautiful.'

The speaker praises or flatters directly or indirectly to enhance the addressee's positive face.

(c) *Negative greetings*: The use is frequent in a context when the speaker does not have specific knowledge about the addressee. For example,

5. jodi kichu na mone koren, apni-i ki raś-babu ?

'If you don't mind, are you Mr. Ray ?'

6. apnar thaka hoē kothaē, *amugroho kore* janaben ki ?

'Will you kindly inform me about your residence ?'

The italicized expressions are used as negative regressive greeting expression directed towards the Hearer's negative face. The addresser has the motivation to be free from intrusion.

(d) *Off-record greetings*: Intimate friends often exercise it to enhance solidarity or create a humorous environment. They are realized frequently through teasing, irony or in seemingly impolite ways.

7. ækhono bēce achif ?

'Are you still alive ?'

8. ætodine aḡar somōē holo ?

'Did you get time for coming here after a long gap ?'

The first instance expresses the joking relationship between the friends. The second one reflects the admiration towards the Hearer.

(e) *Not doing the FTAs* : It may take place, when the interaction attracts the Hearer's attention while starting a conversation by making some noise or gestures.

BL(1978) claim that the politeness strategies to avoid FTA, are no doubt universal, though the realization of these is language-specific. Any rational interactant will make an effort to avoid FTA being motivated by the relative weight of at least three demands : (i) the want to communicate the content of the FTAs ; (ii) the demand to be efficient or urgent; (iii) the want to maintain Hearer's face to any degree. Unless (ii) is greater than (iii) the speaker will try to minimize FTA by incorporating the strategies mentioned above.

2.2.1 Social Strategies :

BL's analysis and Laver's descriptive framework attempt to examine the influence of social factors in the choice of greeting strategies. BL formulated an equation to show that the choice of politeness strategies is mostly determined by the weight of the seriousness of FTAs, assessed by social and cultural factors. The formulation is as follows:

$$(i) \quad W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$$

W_x = seriousness of FTAs; $D(S, H)$ = social D(istance) between (S)peaker and (H)earer; $P(H, S)$ = relative power of H over S; R_x = absolute ranking of imposition in the particular culture.

So, all three factors determine the seriousness of FTAs. However, Qian (1996 : 36) makes a revision in determining degree of politeness in greeting. Because politeness strategies in case of greeting are used not only for doing FTAs; but they are frequently used to enhance social relationship between the interactants. The revised formulation is as follows :

$$(ii) \quad X = D(S, H) + P(H, S) \dots$$

X represents degree of politeness of greeting. The equation (ii) is open ended as other factors may also influence the politeness of greeting. Moreover, it shows both D, P contribute to X. If P remains constant, X varies with D. For example,

9. A : are Bimol kæmon achif ? 'Hello! Bimal, How are you ?'

B : cole jacche, tor ki khobor ? ' Okay, it is going on. What's about you?'

10. A: nomofkar, Bimolbabu, job kufol to ? 'Salute to you Bimalbabu, are you okay?'

B: nomofkar, apnader subhecchae bhaloi achi. 'Salute, your good aspiration makes me okay'.

The social distance of the interactants in the example (9) is comparatively shorter than that in (10). If D is held constant, X varies with P.

11. A : nomofkar 'salute'

B: nomofkar 'salute'

12. A: pronam thakurmojae 'Salute to the respected sir'

B. dirghojibi ho 'Long live'

(11) may occur between the interactants of equal social status. And (12) comes about between a priest and his disciple belonging to different social status.

Conclusion :

This paper was an attempt to present a brief sociolinguistic and pragmatic descriptions of the verbal and non-verbal modes of greeting with special reference to the Bangla speech community. Modes of greeting, being tied with social convention and attitude, characterize the socio-cultural life of a specific community. However, greetings cannot remain unaffected by social change. The greeting expressions and gestures may not only change in their form but also change in their rules. In fact, social conventions are not so strong to resist the drift of societal change. The sketch presented here does not bring to the fore any exhaustive study, but brings some insight to the nature of the socio-psychological organization of a specific community. True to admit, greeting provides a bridge between the individuals, being a strong 'verbal lubricant'.

Notes : Roman script is used for the literary corpus. IPA is employed for the rest.

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Linguistic identity in a multilingual setting: a case study*

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Abstract: India, with roughly two hundred languages spoken in its territory, presents one of the most intriguing cases of multilingual space. The urban scenario is even more interesting with its great scale of migration. Kolkata (erstwhile Calcutta), with its long history of migration from almost all parts of India, is a good representation of multicultural, multilingual urban India. According to recent reports, Bengali, which is the local dominant language, is spoken by less than 40% speakers in the city. In this paper I would like to look into the question of how linguistic identity is constructed and negotiated in a multilingual setting. To do this, this paper takes cases of language choice and attitude of two Tamil native speakers living in the city for more than thirty years. These speakers have a number of languages in their linguistic repertoire. Apart from their mother tongue Tamil, which is a language of Dravidian family and Bengali, an Indo-Aryan language and most widely used local language in Kolkata, they have various degrees of proficiency in Malayalam, Kannada, Hindi and English. The speakers' responses, gathered through a structured interview, are analysed in the paper to understand the pattern of language attitude and language choice to see how linguistic identity is constructed in this multilingual space.

Keywords: multilingualism, urban sociolinguistics, language maintenance, linguistics identity

Language, ideology and identity: a negotiable dynamic practice

Having identified 'communication' and 'representation' as two main purposes of language Joseph in his book on Language and Identity (2004) comments '...linguistic identity is a category that blurs the dichotomy between the two traditional functions of language'(p-16). He explains that the main component of representation, namely self representation, is intrinsically connected to communication.

If we accept the argument that communication is related to self expression and by extension to linguistic identity, then we will also have to accept the dynamic, flexible and contextual nature of linguistic identity since communication itself is far from a static or fixed project. On the contrary, the act of communication is a conscious, dynamic and often a strategic act. Researches in interactional

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sociolinguistics establish that a competent user of language adopt various strategies to enable a successful act of communication. Hymes (1971) pointed out that it is not sufficient for a competent adult user of language to have just grammatical knowledge of a language but they must have several other kinds of knowledge such as pragmatic, strategic and sociolinguistic. The theory of communicative competence propagated by Hymes was further examined and developed by many others (cf. Savignon 1983, Widdowson 1983, Canale and Swain 1980 and 1981, Canale 1984, Bachman 1990). Similarly, influenced by Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (cf. Tajfel et al 1971, Tajfel and Turner 1986), researches in communication accommodation (cf. Giles 1973, Giles and Smith 1979, Giles et al 1991, Giles and Ogay 2007) show that an act of communication is a continuous process of conscious or unconscious convergence with or divergence from the interlocutors. Researches in linguistic politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978/ 1987), drawing on Goffman's face theory (1956, 1967) show that choice of communicative strategy is directed to either the positive or the negative face wants of the interlocutors, based on the power relation between the interlocutors, their social distance and the cost of imposition.

Just like communication, the linguistic identity, which is intrinsically connected with communication, is also dynamic and strategic. The dynamic and negotiable nature of linguistic identity is the basic point of LePage and Tabouret-Keller's acts of identity theory (1985) which presents linguistic identity as an act of negotiation which requires four main criteria to be fulfilled namely, 1) that we can identify the desirable group, 2) have both adequate access to that group, and the ability to analyse their behaviour, 3) have a strong enough motivation to 'join' them, and this motivation is either reinforced or rejected by the group, and 4) we have the ability to modify our own behaviour. It is impossible to recapitulate all the very diverse researches in the vast field of linguistic identity in the scope of a single paper and this paper does not make any such attempt. However, a recurrent understanding, coming out of the various work on linguistic identity, shows that the nature of linguistic identity is multiple, versatile, contextual and negotiable.

For the purpose of this paper, identity can be defined as one's representation of oneself in a particular context. Different contexts may induce different representations of the same person. The representation here may include answers to a deceptively simple question like 'who are you?' In the context of a country like India, the answer to the question would be bafflingly diverse from stating one's religion, gender, ethnicity or caste to stating one's profession or one's role in their family. Needless to say, in the context of this paper, the problem of linguistic identity is of most relevance. Since traditionally, especially in the context of India, language is often associated with a geographical space, a statement of the place identity is also of relevance here. The place identity can also be complex, especially in the context of a migrant population. The answers to these questions may actually reveal the speakers attitude towards the languages in their repertoire and their ideological positioning with regards to those languages.

It would be relevant here to take a look at the field of language ideology and see what role it plays in constructing a dynamic linguistic identity. After Silverstein's (1979) initial formulation of the concept, the field of linguistic ideology branched into several varied and diverse sub fields of linguistic enquiry including the ideology of standardisation (cf Milroy 2001) and the role of nationalist ideology (Blomert and Verschueren 1992) (for a brief review of the works see Woolard: 1992). It is also essential, for the purpose of the paper, to see how linguistic ideology plays a role in constructing linguistic identity in a multilingual setting. In this context, Gal and Irvine's work (1995) on how linguistic differences are constructed on linguistic ideology focuses on three semiotic processes of ideology – namely iconicity, recursiveness and erasure. Iconicity links linguistic practices which social images. The linguistic practices that index the social group becomes the iconic representation of the same. Recursiveness involves projected oppositions. A repeated reproduction of opposition may be instrumental in constructing identities as '... they provide actors with the discursive or cultural resources to claim and thus attempt to create shifting "communities," identities, and selves, at different levels of contrast, within a cultural field' (p-974). Finally erasure renders those persons, practices or phenomena that are inconsistent with ideological scheme, insignificant or unnoticeable. In other words it delegitimises anything that does not fit in the ideological scheme. '...for example, a social group, or a language, may be imagined as homogeneous, its internal variation disregarded' (ibid). Language ideology constructed around these processes also helps create the linguistic identity of a community as well as that of an individual.

Related to the issue of ideology is that of language attitude. Study of language attitude is an important area of sociolinguistics and is especially relevant for a multilingual setting. In a multilingual setting language attitude and ideology can be instrumental in constituting linguistic identity by enforcing differences. Multilingualism itself can be understood as process rather than a state. Heller (2007) advocates a move away from a 'common sense' understanding of bilingualism to an ideolised view of the same '... in which languages practices and socially and politically embedded' (p-1). A connected issue here is that of migration and linguistic context of a modern city. Otsuji and Pennycook (2009) recommend the term 'metrolingualism', as opposed to a more traditional label like 'multilingualism', to capture the uniqueness of the linguistic dynamics of urban space which is '... a product typically of modern, urban interaction' (p 245). Confirming its applicability even in rural and mobile setting, they define metrolingualism as a description of "the ways in which people of different and mixed background use, play with and negotiate identities through language." The focus here is on the fixity and fluidity of linguistic identity. Moving away from the conventional concept of relations between language and geography, culture and ethnicity, metrolingualism looks into how there is a conflict between a fixed, generalised identity and a dynamic construction or defiance of the same. Heller (1982) reports a situation in Montreal where an act of conversation can often turn into an unending process of explicit or implicit act of strategising and negotiating of language choice. 'The awareness of language comes from the symbolic role it has in political life, and from the social value it has acquired as an obvious

characteristic of the social groups involved in shifting relationships' (p-109). In the paper it was shown that the unique dynamic situation often leads to an explicit reluctance or refusal by one of the interlocutors to assume or affirm either English or French identity. In Holliday's (2010) work in UK involving twenty eight participants of fourteen different nationalities, participants report similar complex representation of identity. The native speakers of numerically or socio-politically non-dominant language may face special challenges in a multilingual city. Moyer and Rojo's (2007) research in the Catalan- Spanish bilingual city of Barcelona shows that migrants are 'regulated in both material and symbolic sense.'(p-137)

Background of the study: Kolkata and the respondents

Like most modern cities, Kolkata is a great multilingual and diverse space. It has been a multilingual city for at least two hundred years (cf. Clark, 1956), if not more. According to a statement made at the assembly in August 2003 by the state government Bengalis (the largest speech community) constitute 37% of the city's population (Sarkar 2005). The census figure for 1991, however, states 64% of the city dwellers are Bengali speaker. In any case, it indicates presence of a large number of different linguistic communities. According to 1991 census, Tamil speakers constitute 0.30% of the city's population. (Seventh highest population after Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Oriya, Punjabi, Gujarati and Nepali)

This paper is a qualitative study of the language use and attitudes of two long time Kolkata residents, who reported themselves as Tamil speakers. This study is based on the interview responses of the respondents and it is done within the context of a larger study which is a sociolinguistic survey of a section of long term residents of Kolkata who are not native speakers of Bengali. The aim is to look into the language situation for speakers of numerically non-dominant languages in multilingual setting in general and in Kolkata in particular. Respondents were encouraged to talk on various language related issues such as problems of multilingualism, migration and the concept of homeland, experiences of living in a city where their mother tongue is not the principal language and on the important or significant languages in their lives. Besides they were also encouraged to talk about different languages that they are familiar with and about different linguistic communities they are in contact with. Through their responses, this paper tries to find out their language attitudes, nature of language ideologies and by extension linguistic identities in this multilingual setting for a speaker of non-dominant languages. It also tries to see the implication of such ideology in the language use.

For this paper I have chosen two respondents with very similar backgrounds. Both of them are residents of Kolkata for more than thirty years and are first generation residents of the city. They are of the same age group – Parvathi¹ is fifty-six years old and Lakshmi is fifty-eight. As mentioned earlier, both reported Tamil as their Mother Tongue. The backgrounds of the respondents are also similarly multicultural. Neither of them has stayed at length at any place in the state of Tamil Nadu, where Tamil is the most widely spoken language. The first respondent

Parvathi was born and brought up in Mysore, both her parents are Tamil by her own submission, though they are from Kerala. Her first language in school was Tamil and second language Hindi. Other than these two languages she speaks Kannada fluently, as that was the most frequently used in Mysore, Bengali, which is the principal language of Kolkata, Malayalam and Telugu. The second participant Lakshmi was born in a place called Palghat in Kerala and she grew up in the same place. She is still very attached to the place, where her family still lives. She visits the place at least once in a couple of years. Both her parents are native speakers of Tamil. In the school her first language was English and second language Hindi and it seems she studied in a Malayalam medium school, as she has talked about learning it in school (Excerpt -14). Besides these three languages and Tamil she is fluent in Bengali, the most widely spoken language of Kolkata. They both migrated to Kolkata after marriage and both were staying here for thirty-seven years at the time of the interview. One aspect in which the two lives are different is that Parvathi has never worked outside, whereas Lakshmi is a retired government employee. The rationale behind choosing these two respondents is to see whether the similarity of their lives coincide in some way with their language use and attitude and also to see how their linguistic ideology and identity are constructed in individuals of such multilingual, diversified background. It is worth mentioning in this context that this study does not make any attempt to generalise the conclusions. The findings are applicable to the respondents in question only.

Which Language to whom and when: distribution of language usages

Before turning into their responses it may be useful to see the pattern of language use and the distribution of languages in their repertoire as reflected in their self-report. When it comes to language use both participants reported that they use Tamil almost exclusively in home domain. Parvathi reported that she used Kannada in most other situations in Mysore including while interacting with teachers, students, neighbours. Lakshmi reports similar use of Malayalam in Kerala. Bengali for both participants is used in neighbourhood and local domains, in hospitals, post offices and with servants at home in Kolkata. Lakshmi reports use of English in most official interactions, in bank, in parties or social gatherings, hospitals, while interacting with other language speakers in general and while reading newspapers. Parvathi did not report English as one of the languages known. She reported Bengali for bank, post office and hospital, Tamil for social gathering and Hindi for interacting with other language speakers. She on the other hand has reported Malayalam as one of the languages known, but the only use of the language seems to be while listening to songs. Lakshmi reported Hindi as the first choice while listening to songs, besides she reports use of Hindi as first choice while interacting with colleagues in office, and with taxi drivers, people in post office, shopping malls.

On living in a multilingual metro: diversity and discrimination

During the interviews the respondents were encouraged to discuss various language related issues including the problems of a multilingual country and they were requested to consider whether they would have preferred a one-language country instead. Both participants, and indeed a large part of the entire sample population interviewed so far for our project, expressed a positive attitude towards multilingualism. Both Lakshmi and Parvathi expressed that they would prefer a multilingual multicultural India. During Lakshmi's interview her daughter in law - Savita, who has been staying in Kolkata for five years since her marriage, was present and she often joined in the conversation to give her opinion on issues. In most cases Lakshmi politely agreed with her opinions. But on the issue of a single language India her opinion was clear as the following excerpt will show.

EXCERPT - 1

FieldWorker (henceforth FW): *...ei je eto language royeche, eTaaki aapnaar mone hoy Thik aache? maane jemon USA te English-i predominant?*

'...there are so many language, do you think it's alright? I mean, suppose in USA only English is predominant'

Savita: English is predominant but they also...*jaise* Hindi is universal *haamaari* country me, anywhere you go...it is the original language.--

Lakshmi: It is not possible, impossible'.

In case of Parvathi we found similar response, she said she liked all the different languages that she acquired during her life and mentioned Kannada as a language that is close to her heart.

EXCERPT - 2

Parvathi: *anek thaakne se bhaalo, ekhaane anek jon aashbe bolte dite paarbe aar aamaar bhi anek bhaashaa jaanne se bhaalo[...] aami kannada bhaalobaashi, keno jonmo hoeche oi Mysore-e, KannadaTa khub bhaalobaashi.*

'it is good to have many languages, many people will come here and we will also like knowing many languages.[...] I love Kannada, because I was born in Mysore, I love Kannada very much.'

Both Parvathi and Lakshmi reflected a positive attitude towards multilingualism and they do not see it as a problem at all. Parvathi even mentions her preference for a language which she has not identified as her mother tongue. She reiterates her position when she was asked to imagine India as a one-language country where she has the power to choose that one language.

EXCERPT - 3

... nijer language to sobai bolbe. English to keu bujhte - learn koraa thaakle - aajkaal to sob English korche, sob porche, tobe ki sob language khubbhaalo, aamaar madrasie bolo aapni bolte paarben? tobu aamraa madrasiTa sob sikhe niyechi. sob language sikhe niyechi aapnaaara to bolchen koThin aamaar bhaashaa Ta kintu sob bhaashaa jurur sikhte bhaalo

‘everybody will name their own language. English, if someone understands – if they have learnt it – these days everyone is saying English, studying English. But all the languages are very good. Can you speak our *madrasi*? But we have learnt *madrasi*. You are saying (it is) a difficult language but all languages are really good to learn.’

She starts by assuming that it is expected of everybody to support their ‘own’ language by naming it as the only language for the hypothetical one language India. Then she reflects that a section may also be ideologically inclined to support English. Then she comes back to reflect on her ‘own’ language, but she starts looking at it from the point of view of others not only does she bring up the issue of ‘difficult’ a common stereotype for non-dominant languages, but she calls the language madras instead of Tamil. It may be remembered here that according to her own report she is a Tamil speaker who never stayed in Madras or Chennai.

About the predominant language of Kolkata - Bengali, Parvathi said that even though she likes the language she found it a bit difficult to learn.

EXCERPT - 4

bangla bolte bhaalo laage, aamaar to sikhte koThin hoyeche, aami sikheni, ekTu khani sikhe chere dilaam [...] maane interest hole sikhte paare, aamaar chele naati, meye sob sikheche, aami to jaani naa

‘I like speaking Bengali, but I found it difficult to learn, I have not learned (it), I learned a bit and then gave up [...] I mean you can learn if you are interested, my son, grandson, daughter, all have learned, (only) I do not know’

It may be noted here that even though, by her own admission, Parvathi have not completely mastered Bengali and she often uses non standard verbal and nominal declensions, yet she chose to speak in her less than perfect Bengali for most of the interview³.

We also asked whether they faced any discrimination or hostility in Kolkata as a speaker of non-dominant language. Here Lakshmi and Parvathi gave somewhat dissimilar responses and Lakshmi's response was supplanted by Savita before Lakshmi had a chance to answer.

EXCERPT - 5

Savita: hostile – hostile, I know this, yes it is linguistically hostile-people-- for example, I have been here for past five years and I have seen that when I'm talking in Hindi, the *samnawaalaa* person does not even think of it *ki* I am talking in Hindi that's why I don't know Bengali so talking in Hindi. That person keeps on talking in Bengali ... Bengali was a* Greek and Latin for me, but the person keeps on talking in Bengali, keeps on talking in Bengali assuming that *ki*, I am a Bengali – come one *yaar*-damn it, I don't know Bengali and you know I am talking in Hindi, it means that I don't know Bengali and it does not happen with the hawkers, it happens in banks, happens in offices – in these levels (raising her hand) the person, the *samnawaalaa* person – [...] I'm not blaming these hawkers because they don't know anything except Bengali and I'm not expecting them to talk in English or Hindi. But at least officer's level – go to bank, go to post office or go to some other place, where people are educated- [...]

<Lakshmi: they know>

Savita: this thing has happened with me

<Lakshmi: they don't try to talk.>

Savita: and I don't know she might be also facing this. [...]we've come from such a cosmopolitan place, Bombay, in Bombay you go anywhere, everybody is talking in Hindi only.

<Lakshmi: ha ha> 'yes, yes'

Savita: they'll be very comfortable with you. They don't talk in Marathi, Marathi is the local language there[...]

<Lakshmi: nobody talks to you in Marathi there>

Savita: they talk in Hindi, talk in English over here it was so ridiculous initially like they were talking in Bengali, I didn't understand – small people like *kaamwaali*[...] I understand... but in that level- you can't [...]

‘—people like maids—[...]

FW: You’ve faced such problems...

Savita: yah I HAVE faced such problems

FW: (to Lakshmi) and have you faced such kind of problems?

Lakshmi: ah - yes yes initially when I came here I faced such problems [...] yes I used to talk in Hindi only because I was in Delhi. So I used to talk in Hindi or English. Slowly I learnt Bengali --

FW: gradually during these years --

Savita: my son [...] when he speaks in Hindi people tell me every time, *ey Bengali kab sikhega Bengali kab sikhega aree* it does not matter automatically he is going to learn Bengali they are making it compulsory__

‘--when will he learn Bengali, when will he learn Bengali --’

Lakshmi: my daughter born and brought up here only, they know Bengali

Savita: *aare* they are making it compulsory Bengali *sikhao* Bengali *sikhao*—*aree* -- he has to learn his mother tongue first then

<FW: exactly, one must learn mother tongue first >

Savita: [...] I never tell you people if you’re staying in Chennai to learn Tamil or if you’re in Bombay or tell to learn Marathi first. It never happens over here it’s like [...]

Lakshmi: common language -- should know -- everybody --

Lakshmi, in a much lower pitch, supports her daughter-in-law’s clearly strong objections about being spoken to in Bengali and reluctance of specially the elite Bengali -- the numerically dominant linguistic community - to accommodate the other language speakers and use a common language. However unlike Savita, Lakshmi also displays an attempt to come to an agreement with the non-accommodating Bengali community when she relates how she has learned Bengali gradually and how her children have a good grasp on the language. She even offers an excuse (her stay in Delhi) for why she used to speak in Hindi or English during her initial year in Kolkata. Whereas Savita’s arguments reside on the non-cooperation of the Bengalis, Lakshmi’s response is more centred on her own inability to speak Bengali and the reason for using Hindi. Her arguments are also emphasising that they (i.e., the elite Bengali) “know”, but no explicit emphasis on ‘they are unwilling to accommodate’.

Parvathi, on being asked about the same problems, said she has faced none

EXCERPT-6

*naa aamaar konodin – samaan dekhechi, anya bhabe dekheni [..]
naa, kichu problem face korini.*

‘no, I never – all seem equal, not otherwise [...] no, have not faced any problem.

She also said that she would like to see herself in Kolkata ten years from now.

EXCERPT - 7

*Calcutta chere jabo naa (even if relatives ask her to go) naa,
Taanta ekhaane pore*

‘will not leave Calcutta [...] no I am attached to this place.

Lakshmi also comes to the same conclusion after some consideration.

EXCERPT-8

Lakshmi: *ekhaane habit hoye geche aamaar, habituated hoye gechi, ekhaane more or less ekrom settled hoye gechi oTai bolte pari [..] anek bachor to ekhaane hoye geche, actually native place is kerala – keralate beshi khon chilaam naa. Upto 15/16years only I was in Kerala. okhaan theke aami beriye aashi taarpor. caakrite Dhuklaam, Delhite chilam onek bachor. taarpor biye hoye gelo, ekhaane chole elaam. anek bachor to ekhaane royechi (laughs)*

‘this place has become a habit of mine, I am habituated, I am more or less settled here—this much I can say [...]many years I have lived here, actually native place is Kerala – in Kerala I did not live for very long. Up to fifteen, sixteen years only I was in Kerala. After that I left that place, went into a job, stayed in Delhi for many years. After that I got married, came here, staying here for many years.’

It is also worth noting that Lakshmi switches to Bengali when talking about her long association with Kolkata whereas while speaking about the problems they face in Kolkata they both used English.

On belonging and ownership: homeland and mother tongue

Mayers (2006) argues that it is erroneous on the researchers’ part to treat place identity as a given geographical space, as a question like ‘where are you from?’ may often turn out to be a very complicated one. He suggests that the researcher should concentrate on how the respondents talk about their place identity rather

than what they say. During our interviews respondents were encouraged to talk on the issues of 'homeland' and 'mother tongue' and it often showed that complexity and fluidity that we have discussed in this paper.

While talking about other languages and language communities in Kolkata and elsewhere, Lakshmi mostly offered short but largely positive responses, such as -- '*bhaalo* 'good' or *ki bolbo?* *Thik aache* 'what should I say? (They are) alright'. While talking about Bengali language she related an incident that happened to her in Bangalore.

EXCERPT-9

[...] suppose I was in Bangalore for – *ekmaash ekhaane chilaamna, Bangalore e chilaam, aamaar meye Bangalor-e thaake* [...] *okhaane to Kannada speaker, aami jaaninaa, okhaane to Hindi-o cale* [...] *emni ami parke ghurte gechilaam – ekjon dujon sobaai Bengali, okhaane bosechilo* [...] *naatike niye eshechilo, khelchilo, aamaake emni kathaa bollo – je aapni kothaye thaaken—aamaake English e jiggesh korolo-* where are you staying? *aami bollaam* I stay in Calcutta. Hmm? Then you know Bengali, (laughs) *taarpor aabbaar Bangla kathaa* [...] *bhaalo laaglo, bhaalo lage* [.]

anek bachor dhore royeche, Kolkata-i to aachi, bhaalo laage aamaar to khaaraap laage naa.

'...—one month I was not here, I was in Bangalore, my daughter stays in Bangalore [...] they are Kannada speakers, I do not know, you can also speak Hindi there [...] I went to the park —one or two – all Bengalis were sitting there [...]came with (her) grandson, (he was) playing, – started talking with me – where do you stay? – asked in English – where are you staying? – I said I stay in Calcutta. Hm? Then you know Bengali? (laughs) then Bengali conversation [...] like it, like it [...] it has been so many years, I am here in Kolkata only, I like it, it is not bad.'

Her long association with Kolkata comes in many of her responses leading to an attachment to which once again becomes apparent when she talked about native place and homeland. When asked where she would like to see herself ten years from now, she first answers *jaaninaa dosh bachor thaakbo kinaa* 'I don't know whether I will be there at all after ten years' but later during conversation she asserts that she is too habituated with Kolkata.

EXCERPT-10

FW: *ekhaanei to sob theke beshi*

‘here – for the longest time’

Lakshmi: *sob theke beshi ekhaanei, naturally eTaai homeland.*

‘for the longest time I am here, naturally this is homeland’

While talking about her neighbours and family who are still there in Palghat district (a place where she was born and lived during her early years) she first said that there is nothing to tell about the people living there and those who have settled in Kolkata. But here again Savita gave her opinion and the conversation advanced farther.

EXCERPT-11

Savita: [...] they’re not seeing the bigger world not seeing what a city is. Staying in a city- life is different, their life is very different. The life style is different.

<Lakshmi: they are not backdated. All of them also very educated.>

Savita: like if we go there, we can’t stay there for more than 10 days.

Lakshmi: yes

Savita: *amma appa* means my mother in law and father in law can stay, but we can’t stay for more than 10 days, not possible. It’s like their lifestyle is very different.

Lakshmi: its’ village life, *hai na – graamer jibon – na –* very different

Lakshmi’s quite defence of her place of origin is noteworthy here. When Savita endorses the case of staying in a big city pointing out to the village inhabitants lack of exposure to the ‘bigger world’, Lakshmi quietly points out that they are ‘educated’ and not backdated.

Parvathi on being asked to talk on the issue of homeland, first asks the field worker to clarify the concept –

EXCERPT-12

F.W.:...*maane aapnaar nijer jaaygaa, maane dhoun aapni jonmehen Mysore-e boro hoyechen Mysore-e kintu last aabaar 37 years ekhaane aachen. to aapni ki MysoreTa ke nijer jaaygaa*

mone karen – maatribhumi bole- naa Kolkata ke? konTaake mone koren?

‘... I mean your own place, I mean suppose you were born in Mysore, you grew up in Mysore, but for the last 37 years you are staying here. So do you consider Mysore to be your own place – your motherland- or Kolkata? Which one do you consider?’

Parvathi: *se to maatribhumi jonom hoyeche jekhaane (mysore)*

‘mother land is where you are born’

The use of the term ‘motherland’ prompted Parvathi to quickly associate it with a place she is born. Otherwise, she never seems to have given a thought about having one place that she would consider her own.

While talking about Tamil as a language Parvathi says that it is a good language but it may appear to be difficult for others.

EXCERPT-13

taamilTa khub bhaalo language, ekTu maar moto aamaader taamil language-Taa. khub bhaalo laage aar joto khon porbo oto porte bhi aacchaa hoy.[...]ekTu koThin aache, anno je language-er lok aache, oder sikhbaar ekTu koThin aache, kintu aamaader sob easy. [...].cesTaa korle to hoey jaay aamaar paasher baangaali meyeTa shikhlo.

‘Tamil is a very good language, a bit like mother our Tamil language. It is good to read as well.[...] it is a bit difficult, people of other languages—it is a difficult to learn for them, but for us it is easy [...] if you try you can. This Bengali girl in our neighbourhood learnt’

Parvathi uses ‘us’ and ‘our’ while talking about the language. At the same time she also points out that it may appear ‘difficult’ to others. Her alertness about ‘others’ perception of Tamil is also reflected when she refers to Tamil as ‘Madrasi’ at times during the interview (eg. Excerpt 3).

Talking about mother tongue, Lakshmi reveals that her languages is different from standard Tamil so much so that she labels standard Tamil as spoken in Chennai as ‘difficult’. She said at home they speak a language which is not ‘pure Tamil’ and at home they speak in Tamil as well as Malayalam, ‘*Tamil me baat karte hai, aur Malayalam me bhi – mixing karke*’ (‘we) speak in Tamil and we speak in Malayalam, we mix –it’. She later explains –

EXCERPT-14

Actually Tamil is – we use to talk in Tamil only. *ghar pe haam baat karte hai Tamil me*. Our Tamil is not so pure Tamil, actually it is mixed with Malayalam. *keraalaate[...]*palghat distict,[...] actually original language is Malayalam only in Kerala, in some parts people use to talk in Tamil. *ghar pe baat karte hai so thoDaa mixing thaa. pure Tamil nehi*, Chennai *me jaise paakkaa Tamil hai, use thoDaa difficulty hotaa hai..* Sometimes even we are also not able to understand their language. *jaise Bengali me hotaa hai na- east Bengali-der language jemon alag hoy na, difference aache tomraa bujhte paare naa se rokomi aamaader-o aache*. Even in Kerala also you can- Malayalam has so many difference(s) also[...] I can talk in Tamil and I can read only but I learnt Malayalam only, Malayalam I learnt much, I can read write because our education was in Malayalam. But I learnt Malayalam only, Malayalam I learnt much, I can read write because our education was in Malayalam.

‘ – when we talk at home, there used to be a little mixing (of Tamil and Malayalam). It was not pure Tamil. Sometimes we are not able to understand their language. As it happens in Bengali – east Bengalis have a different language, you cannot understand, we also have something similar –.’

Discussion:

We can see from the responses above that identities of our respondents are far from simple and fixed. Both identified themselves as ‘Tamils’ at the beginning of the interview whereas as the interview progressed it was revealed that their ‘Tamil’ identity does not yield itself to easy stereotyping. Lakshmi by her own report is a Tamil who finds the “pakka Tamil” as spoken in Chennai at times ‘difficult to understand’. It seems that she moves away from the routine answer given at the beginning of the interview and shows more association with Malayalam and a liking (or a habit) of Bengali. Parvathi shows a similar adherence to Kannada. During the interview (the fieldworker was Bengali) Parvathi chose to speak almost entirely in Bengali, though by her own admission she does not have a good grip on the language. Lakshmi, on the other hand, codeswitched frequently in between three common languages – Bengali, English and Hindi.

The younger Savita expresses the problems caused by the linguistically non-accommodating nature of Bengali speaking community in Kolkata, whereas from Parvathi’s responses it is not very clear if she has the same expectations from the Bengali speaking community. As for the issue of place identity is concerned – Lakshmi never seemed to have given it a thought. Though both of them have great admiration and attachment to the place where they were born and where they grew

up, Kolkata is a place that both chose for their future stay. Even though they are living in a place where they are linguistic minorities, both seem to have a great support for multiplicity in languages. Parvathi's confusion while asked to talk about the issue of homeland demonstrates that she never really felt the need to associate herself with one particular place.

In conclusion, the notion of linguistic identity, as analysed from the responses of these interviews, is complex, subtle and multiple. At the beginning of the interview, their linguistic affiliation was only Tamil, but as the interview progressed it develops into more subtle nuances – as a Tamil who may not really understand 'pure Tamil', prefers to stay in a city where neither Tamil nor Malayalam is the principal language.

It also seems that the notion of homeland is not a very relevant issue at least in cases of long term migrants like our respondents. This is specially demonstrated in Lakshmi's confusion with the question. Both respondents demonstrated attachment to all the places that they have lived in for a length of time and consciously expressed preference for a place to stay in future where Tamil is a minority language.

1 The respondents are identified with pseudonyms

2 Transcription conventions:

Bengali or Hindi speech excerpts are given in *Italics*. Where both Bengali and English is used in the same stretch of speech, Bengali is underlined as well as italicized.

Bengali and Hindi speech is given in approximate romanised form where retroflex consonants are identified with capital letters and long vowels with double letters

<> indicates an overlap in speech.

* indicates a lower pitch than surrounding

Words in capital letters indicate an emphasis

Rough translation of the Bengali or Hindi conversation is given within single quotes.

3 The respondents in these interviews are free to speak in any of the three languages common to them and the fieldworker, i.e., Bengali, English and Hindi.

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Early Printing in Bengal and Baṭṭalā

Sunandan Kumar Sen

Abstract : Printing came in Bengal more than two hundred years ago. Since early nineteenth century printing and publishing started a new era in and around Calcutta. Along with the emergence of Baṭṭalā literature Bengali printing received a new dimension. Baṭṭalā literature had ultimately ushered renaissance in Bengali printing. Baṭṭalā in short period of time became an 'industry' in its true sense. This paper intends to throw light on the emergence of Baṭṭalā which initially started in a small area of North Calcutta but soon it was spread to the other areas of our city during the first part of nineteenth century. While discussing the concept of Baṭṭalā and how it developed some other issues like how this industry lost its force are also considered as far as possible.

Key word: bookmaking, type-casing, Baṭṭalā, 19th century Calcutta, chap-book

Introduction

Baṭṭalā, now an unidentifiable segment of North Calcutta, has become an integral part of the social, cultural and literary history of the 19th century Bengal. Baṭṭalā now does not stand to indicate only a locality. It means metaphorically a literary genre, a style of printing and a critical view on things that were happening at that point of time. The bookmaking activity in its most comprehensive sense, that is, from writing to printing and then from publishing to selling, started in one part of North Calcutta popularly known as Baṭṭalā, sometimes in the second decade of the 19th century. In a very short span of time this bookmaking activity gained quick-fire momentum. By the middle of the 19th century it became an industry and continued through till the middle of the fourth decade of the 20th century. In a nutshell the activity covers a period from 1820 to 1946 AD. The golden age of Baṭṭalā printing was between 1840 and 1865 AD. The expression 'bookmaking activity' is here used as a cover term to include all kinds of activities that are involved in the making of a book, viz the writing, printing, publishing and even selling-marketing. The present article is just an attempt to recapture the lost ambience. It is my belief that this aspect of the 19th century cultural activity needs to be examined as it was very much a part of the 'Bengal Renaissance'. Unfortunately too many erroneous ideas about Baṭṭalā are there. Baṭṭalā, by definition, does not symbolize pornography as some scholarly people believe. Before moving to our main discussion a brief history of printing in early days of Bengal is given in a nutshell for making this discussion more interesting.

The Advent of printing press in the then Bengal was on the bank of the river Hooghly. Not much historical facts are available to us regarding the press. What we

know for certain is that in 1778 the Grammar of the Bengal Language written by Nathaniel Brassy Halhed (1751-1830) an employee of the Company, for the benefit of the young officers of the Company, was printed at this press. Not only that but also the Bengali types were cast for the first time in that book¹. What more we know for certain is that Sir Charles Wilkins, a Sanskrit scholar, also a staff of the East India Company accomplished this difficult task within a remarkably short time. Halhed also refers to Wilhelm Bolts earlier but abortive attempt at casting Bengali movable type (Sen, 1994:5). Curiously enough what Halhed does not mention is that Wilkins was helped in his venture by one of his native assistants Panchanan Karmakar. Under the stewardship of Wilkins, Karmakar became an expert in type casting and was appointed in the foundry when the Company decided to set up their own press in Calcutta. Halhed is curiously silent on the question of ownership of the press. In his long introduction he does not spare a single word for the owner of the press. It is really inconceivable that Halhed should remain silent over the ownership of the press that printed his book. More curious is the fact that till date we do not know whether any other book was ever published from that press. It appears that as if the press was established to print Halhed's grammar. However, it has been suggested by some scholars like Graham Shaw that the Hooghly press was owned by Mr. John Andrews. It is true that a certain Mr Andrews had a bookshop in Calcutta at that time but there is no convincing evidence that can connect this Andrews with the press at Hooghly. Speculations are bound to be futile. The ownership of Hooghly press is a tough problem even for the scholars for insufficient data. We will note the fact that the first book, making profuse use of Bengali type cast was printed at the mysterious Hooghly press in 1778. The more important fact is the type cast by Wilkins-Karmakar was an instant success.

In the early years of the 19th century printing technology in Calcutta was in its infancy. Printing meant hand composition and most of the compositors and, I dare say, the publishers were in all probability not aware of the artistic aspects of printing. They were unaware of such simple things as 'rivers'. Books were printed mainly in pica types most of which were defaced with repeated usage. The quality of the paper sometimes was extremely poor. That was the age of dampish rolled galley proofs to be handled carefully and of the flat machines. The ill-paid, purblind compositors were accustomed to work long hours in the shabby, semi-dark rooms, most of which were no better than shanties, blunderingly picking out nearly blurred types from the wooden cases sometimes with disastrous effects. Needless to say there was no electricity in the town then. Still these printer-publishers produced, printing wise, quality books, which were 'readable' from a master printer's point of view. Under the circumstances that was no mean feat.

The present article aims to provide merely a narration of the then print culture, which was a kind of one-time humming activity which initially started in a certain area, but soon spread to the other areas of Calcutta in the early part of the 19th century. The present account is based on the arduous and most sound research of scholars in the subject, for example, Sukumar Sen (1900-92) and Brajendra Nath Bandopadhyay (1891-1952) to mention a few among them.

Baṭṭalā and Printing in Bengal

The word 'Baṭṭalā' is a word of multiple meaning. The central figure in our account is a Baṭ-tree (Sen, 1994), *Ficus Indica*, an Indian fig tree, which is more commonly known as the banyan tree. It is known from the evidences that the tree was somewhere in the Shobhabazar area of the present day North Kolkata. But it is extremely difficult to situate the tree precisely in the map of Kolkata of today. This must have been a huge banyan tree, in course of time which became a landmark and the entire area derived its name Baṭṭalā² meaning "an area under the shade of the banyan tree" from it. The literal meaning of the word is 'a space sheltered by the banyan tree'. Baṭ or banyan is a quite common tree in this part of the country. As we shall see that a certain Baṭṭalā in the northern part of the city gradually came to signify not an area sheltered by a banyan tree but a larger area. The greater Baṭṭalā includes the publishers of the both sides of Chitpore, Coomertully, Shobhabazar, Aheeritolla, Dorzipara, Garanhata, Shimla, Jorabagan, Jorasanko etc. Thereafter, by a kind of synecdoche it came to mean 'books published from the presses in this area or in the neighbouring areas'. These books irrespective of their place of publication were branded as Baṭṭalār bai i.e., books from Baṭṭalā. And then by an extension of meaning the phrase came disparagingly to mean Baṭṭalā literature. The Baṭṭalā publications are now extremely rare. One reason of it is that these low-priced cheap books were usually printed in very poor quality paper. Curiously the books published from Baṭṭalā acquired fame and notoriety almost simultaneously. The 'Baṭṭalā bai' even in their hay day were already marginalized and were de-linked from the so called 'pure' or 'elitist' literature of the time. 'Baṭṭalā' indeed had become a term of disapprobation. With the passage of time the Baṭṭalā books lost relevance and was forgotten. Indeed Baṭṭalā and its books would have remained a forgotten chapter in the history of Bengali literature and the history of Bengali printing but for a Bengali article by Sukumar Sen (1947, 16-25). Sen's article which was published at a crucial historical moment literally brought the Baṭṭalā and the Baṭṭalā books back from the depth of oblivion and in course of time gave them due recognition. Ramagati Nyayaratna (1831-1894) the first writer of History of Bengali Literature (1873) had refused to treat these books as literature in his account. After the publication of Sen's article the academics, journalists and dilettantes became interested in Baṭṭalā per se and occasional studies on Baṭṭalā started to appear over the last fifty to sixty years. Consequently there is now a sizeable literature on the subject in Bengali.

Books published from Baṭṭalā have important bearings on the cultural history of the 19th century Bengal. In a sense Baṭṭalā literature offers the most colourful strand in the rich and complex motley of the Bengali culture of the period which is considered as the period of Renaissance in Bengal.

This article is primarily concerned with one small segment of Old Calcutta what was earlier known as Sutanuti and the present day North Calcutta. Then again it is not concerned with the whole of North Calcutta but only with a tiny part of it. The main focus of our article is that spot of Old Calcutta which was known as Baṭṭalā.

Baṭṭalā, as has been already mentioned in the beginning, literally means ‘an area under (the shed of) a Baṭ-tree’ i.e. *Ficus indica* or Indian fig tree, commonly known as ‘banyan tree’. In our old tradition the banyan tree is an auspicious tree being the abode of benevolent gods and goddesses of both classical and of later folk origin (Sen, 2008). Banyan trees still are not rare phenomenon in this part of the country. There indeed might have been many a banyan tree in Calcutta of olden times. There is a popular belief considered as a historical truth by some that there was another banyan tree in the East-central Calcutta in the open grounds of the present day Sealdah Main Railway Station. It is further believed that under the cool shed of this banyan tree Job Charnock used to have his mid-day meal and as well as nap. After that he would meet his Indian business partners and transact business. Thus it is argued that the place came to be known as the Baithak-khana-bazar. True that bazaar is still there and it is also true that it is still a large wholesale market in this part of the city. Unfortunately, however, there is not even a bit of evidence to prove the authenticity of this highly interesting but mythical story. It is needless to say that the banyan tree of this story is not there now. Similar to this great banyan tree, one particular gigantic banyan tree spreading over a large area came to acquire an important place in the cultural history of the 19th century Bengal. Unfortunately this banyan tree of our narrative like the one associated with Job Charnock withered away long ago but fortunately unlike Job Charnock’s Baṭṭalā its historicity is indisputable. Truly, it is impossible to site the exact spot where it stood. But from authentic contemporary evidence we have more or less an idea of its location.

Baṭṭalā had a distinct advantage. Initially it might have been a meeting place, a kind of open air salon where friendly likeminded people used to have regular tete-a-tete. Some of the people who regularly visited the spot were quite a few celebrities of the time. It is recorded that Nidhubabu, pet name of Ramnidhi Gupta (1741-1837), the famous exponent of the popular Tappa³ variety of music used to sing in his mellifluous voice every evening in a thatched shed very close to the Baṭṭalā. Nidhubabu popularized the Tappa variety (Sen, 1994: 56). Sen has quoted an extensive passage from *Geetaratna* where it is clearly stated that the Baṭṭalā was to the west of Shobhabazar (Sen, 1994)⁴. As a matter of fact it is known from the title page of a book printed at Sudhasindhu Press in (1850-51) that it was somewhere on the south of Shobhabazar and on the north of Garanahata near Beadon Square or Rabindra Kanan of the present time⁵. It indeed was quite close to the residence of Raja Naba Krishna Dev Bahadur. Not only personalities like Nidhubabu but the different groups of Pakshis like the one of ‘a certain well-known Mr Narayan Chandra Mitra of Nimtala’ (Sen, 1994) also used to have their evening meetings there⁶. Nimtala indeed was not far from this Baṭṭalā. As a result of these important and interesting associations the connotation of Baṭṭalā easily extended from a circumscribed area under a gigantic banyan tree to something bigger. It no longer remained a spot but became a locality of repute. The happy convergence of all these factors argued well for Baṭṭalā. However what in retrospect rescued this Baṭṭalā not only from complete oblivion but also firmly fixed the stamp of permanence on it was the establishment of a press by Biswa Nath Dev one or two years before 1820 AD or thereabout (Sen, 2008). Biswa Nath was a relative of the then famous Dev’s. In the ultimate analysis proximity to Shobhabazaar the seat of Raja Bahadur proved

to be extremely beneficial⁷. Once Biswa Nath's press started printing books Baṭṭalā became a settled fact⁸. Since most of the printers of the time were also the publishers the Bāndhā Baṭṭalā began to appear on the title page of the books as also in the announcement of new publications (Sen, 1947) as the place wherefrom their books could be had off. From the announcement which is in rhymed couplet and which runs as follows: Delightful stories you will come to know there/ I have entrusted the printing job to (the printers of) Bāndhā Baṭṭalā. It is quite evident that printing a book in a Baṭṭalā press was something worth writing home about (Sen, 2008).

The fact that this Baṭṭalā was very close to the residence of Naba Krishna, the fact that it was a favourite haunt of popular figures like Nidhubabu and above all the fact that a press was set up there by a relative of Raja Bahadur lent such a strong, indelible stamp of historicity on that particular banyan tree that even after its disappearance before the end of the 19th century it remains a reality and today it forms a part of the cultural heritage of Bengal.

Interestingly the books printed by the Baṭṭalā publishers who were mostly the printers also had instant commercial success. Soon the publishing as well as printing centres situated at Baṭṭalā came to enjoy enormous popularity. The success of Baṭṭalā is clearly evidenced in the rapid extension of the connotation of the name and consequently its geographical limit. By the middle of the 19th century Baṭṭalā indicated an area quite larger than it originally did (Sen, 2008: 54). An account of this geographical extension of the Baṭṭalā printing presses is partly an account of the spread and distribution of printing presses in Calcutta in the 19th century. Hence this is an interesting study in itself. This consequently gave these publishers and printers an iconic status for two quite contrasting reasons. Firstly the books printed by the Baṭṭalā publishers were cheap and secondly the range of publication was very wide. Therefore, we could easily earmark the whole gamut of Baṭṭalā as chap book. Harvey (1958: 151-152) defines a chap-book as,

A modern name applied by book-collectors and others to specimens of the popular literature which was formerly circulated by itinerant dealers or chapmen, consisting chiefly of small pamphlets of popular tales, ballads tracts, &etc. They were illustrated with wood-blocks and of sixteen pages octavo or twenty-four pages duodecimo and were sold generally at a penny to six-pence. They reproduced old romances ... stories ... or nursery rhymes and fairy tales. They were issued in great numbers throughout the 18th century.

Here further certain linguistic facts of interest may be noted. The common element 'chap' in the words chap-book, chapmen the name of locality Cheapside, East Cheap, Cheap Stow and the adjective cheap are all derived from the Old English verb *ciepan* 'to bargain'. Modern German cognate of *ciepan* is the verb *kaufen* 'to buy' is its not too distant relative (Onions, 1966: 166).

All this story of the hectic activity of the area is now a faded out memory, merely a part of history. Originally the place might have been a meeting place of friends or business men. Then almost all the rooms of the one-storied houses and of the shanties on the lanes and narrow bye-lanes of the area were occupied by the small presses. The vigorous business carried out by these presses in semi-dark dingy rooms reminds one of the busy flurrying of rats in and around the rat holes (Sen, 1947). Despite the disadvantages the area developed quickly and soon became an important business hub. The contemporary printers and publishers, we know, indicated the area as the *bāndhā Baṭṭalā* which literally means 'a circular masoned area round the trunk of a banyan tree' on the title page of the books published by them to indicate wherefrom the books could be had off.

The bookmaking activity in the larger *Baṭṭalā* area flourished from the third decade of the 19th century and continued till the beginning of the last century. This may appear astonishing particularly in view of the fact that the first printing press in Calcutta was not set up in the *Baṭṭalā* locality.

But the reason is not far to seek. The *Baṭṭalā* publishers churned out literally some hundreds of books and booklets on all varieties of themes. Some of the books published from *Baṭṭalā* gave colourful and picturesque accounts of the changing urban society and social values. Thus the post colonial cultural confrontation became a major *Baṭṭalā* theme. But not necessarily on those themes that depicted a cultural conflict as suggested. This is as a matter of fact a number of presses privately owned, not to speak of the press in true sense started by the East India Company, existed and functioned in Calcutta long before the 18th century came to the close.

Therefore the boom in the *Baṭṭalā* business is all the more noteworthy. And the reason for it must be sought not in the quality of printing but in the content of the texts published.

It will be absolutely erroneous to construe this sudden boom in the *Baṭṭalā* business to any aberration. In fact there are very tangible reasons for it. The most important reason was that the *Baṭṭalā* books were relatively cheap and were sold at price lower than the printed price. The second reason was that one type of *Baṭṭalā* books mirrored the cultural dialectic following the spread of western education and the infiltration of western ideas in the society. However, the idea was not quite original. The *Baṭṭalā* writers capitalized on what the mainstream writers had already touched upon. Hence the rise in the popularity of at least one kind of *Baṭṭalā* books may be called 'historically conditioned'. Therefore for an understanding of the mentality of the *Baṭṭalā* writers and printer-publishers their works should be read in the light of the tendencies characterising the then current literature.

However, this boom did not last for long and despite its heady and hectic printing and publication activity *Baṭṭalā* started to lose popularity by the turn of the century. The reason for the decline in popularity of *Baṭṭalā* literature i.e., the products of

Baṭṭalā printers and publishers was due to a number of causes. The most significant cause was the change in the popular attitude to larger issues of life and an inculcation of scientific outlook brought about by the intellectual climate of the period. The other factor that hastened the decline was the intellectual inertia and lack of innovativeness on the part of the system controllers of Baṭṭalā trade. The change in the literary and intellectual climate was brought about primarily by the introduction of the Western education that started with the establishment of the Hindu College in 1813 and also by the gradual infusion of 'modern' elements in Bengali literature through the writings of the writers of the 19th century. Most of these writers had the benefit of English education particularly a first hand acquaintance with English literature and through English with other European literatures both classical and modern. Thus an attitudinal change was effected in the reading public to some of the favourite issues of the Baṭṭalā writers. This modernization process was further accelerated by the publication of two periodicals complementary in their intent--the *Bangadarhan* (1878) and the *Sadhana* (1298 BE).

The effect of the changes in intellectual climate became clearly manifest in the literature of the last two decades of the 19th century. The impact of the *Bangadarhan* on the young Bengalis is described in Tagore's autobiography.

Subsequently in the obituary article written after the passing away of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838-1894) Rabindra Nath Tagore further elaborated the issue. The question of 'the mental inertia and lack of innovativeness' of Baṭṭalā literature is a separate topic which needs another article for elaborations. However, despite the steady erosion of the popularity of their 'products' those Baṭṭalā businessmen who still hung on tenaciously and precariously to their old calling could have survived but for the terrible blow in the form of communal riot that befell in the middle of the fifth decade of the 20th century. By the first quarter of the 20th century Baṭṭalā was already becoming moribund as a centre of literary activity. The communal riot of the 16th August 1946 concomitant of the political slogan of 'direct action' rang down the curtain on the Baṭṭalā as a centre of literary activity.

As a matter of fact the resurgence of interest in Baṭṭalā which was once a proactive institution nurturing in a contradictory way the two diametrically opposite aspects of the 19th century culture was largely due to the publication of an article in Bengali by Sukumar Sen in 1947. Baṭṭalā almost like the mythical Phoenix resurged, any reference to conflagration and resultant destruction of Baṭṭalā books during the riot is unintended, and happily the attention of the educated Bengalis and the academics has been focussed on Baṭṭalā ever since. In fact within the limited scope of his paper, Sen rescued Baṭṭalā literature, Baṭṭalā printers and publishers from complete oblivion and put Baṭṭalā in the proper historical perspective as a part of the Bengali literature and culture. The time and place of publication of this article was also opportune. Nearly twenty years after the publication of this article Sen wrote yet another article. This time it was in English. These two seminal articles by Sen are still the best introductory guides to anyone studying any aspect of Baṭṭalā.

Also the writings of scholars like Brajendra Nath Bandopadhyay, Nikhil Sarkar (1932-2004) and Benoy Ghosh (1917-80) are of great help. Particularly the two volumes (1339BE, 1340BE respectively) edited and compiled by Bandopadhyay containing interesting excerpts of great historical importance from otherwise inaccessible journals are the most valuable source materials for the students and scholars. Both Sarkar and Ghosh were professional journalists with interest in cultural history particularly of the 19th century Bengal. Ghosh's interest later shifted to other areas. Sarkar however retained his keen interest in Baṭṭalā throughout. It is really interesting to find scholars, old and young are taking interest in Baṭṭalā albeit a little too late.

Conclusion

The present article does not attempt to reassess Baṭṭalā in any way. It only tries to give an introductory account of Baṭṭalā in all its diversity and Baṭṭalā as a specific book making institution. However, it is also true that full account of the bookmaking activities in and around Baṭṭalā cannot be presented simply because the surviving material is extremely meagre. But it is really astonishing that the activity, namely book-printing and book-publishing had a phenomenal growth within a limited area and within a short time. It is true that not all the books published by the printer-publishers in this locality were "chap-books. But some indeed were; and these publishers excelled and exalted in this kind of printing. Therefore, the use of the word "chap-book" in case of Baṭṭalā is neither inappropriate nor irrelevant.

The making of a book is a creative activity of highly complex nature. Participation of a number of independent and at the same time interdependent units is involved in the making of a book. Some of these units always remain in the background and are rarely if ever appreciated by the greater number of the reading public. The most transparent and the most recognised units are the author and the publisher. In the early days of Baṭṭalā printing the publisher was more often than not the printer. But exceptions were also there. In some cases the printer was not mentioned even. In the background there always remained the actual typesetters or compositors, the designers and the illustrators and the binders. Still further almost beyond the recognition of the readers remained and still remain unrecognised and unnoticed the workers of the paper mill, of the type foundry and the manufacturers of inks. Quality paper, quality type, quality ink, quality design and illustration and quality binding - all go to the making of the book as much as the good authorship does. Thus by a joint enterprise a good book is 'created'. Thus once the book is 'created' it in its turn begins to "create". What does it create? The book creates awareness in the reading public by disseminating new ideas or by perpetuating the old ideas. In either case it has a tremendous impact on the reading public on the society as it can introduce or obstruct changes that come. Baṭṭalā in its history of more than hundred years successfully and also silently carried out these elements to 'create' a book. That is the main contribution of Baṭṭalā to our rich culture.

¹ The first book written in Bengali language was Crepar Xaxtrer Orth, Bhed (1743) by Manoel-da-Assumpsam. It was published from Lisbon. The script used in the book was Roman. According to Sukumar Sen (1998) the book was initially written in Bengali script. Two more books were published from Lisbon in the same year where Bengali Script was used. Even before these three books Bengali Script was used in a book published from Amsterdam in 1667. The name of the book is '*China Illustrate*.'

² Curiously enough Baṭṭalā now survives in the name of a North Calcutta Police Station. There too it is wrongly transcribed as Baṭṭalā which reflects the colloquial inaccurate pronunciation. The difference between the written variety and the spoken variety is due to the speech tempo of the Calcutta dialect. Otherwise it can be explained as an outcome of a common phonological change in Bengali where intervocalic retroflex plosive has changed into a flapped sound.

³ Tappa a four-lined song on love theme was sung in a slow continuing style. It was popular in the Hindi spoken areas. Nidhubabu is said to have introduced it in Bengal.

⁴ It was perhaps to the south of Shobhabazaar and north of Aheeritola.

⁵ *Caitanyan Sangeeta* by Bhagirath Bandhu was printed by Maheswar Seal and Bishambhar Laha.

⁶ Pakshi means a bird. People who were expert marijuana smokers were known as pakshis as they used to hop around when smoking it.

⁷ It is difficult to semantically explain the name Shobhabazaar. Shobha was and till now is a common Bengali name. But so far as is known there was no Shobha of any eminence in that locality. Upendra Nath Mukherji in his *Kalikata-Darshak* (p. 78 1st edition 1297 B.E 1890) a guide book of Calcutta states that the actual name of the bazaar was Sabhabazaar. According to Mukherji at the time of the *śradh* ceremony of Raja Naba Krishna Dev's mother a temporary bazaar was set up for the convenience of the Priests, Brahmins and other reputed persons who had come over from far and wide to attend the ceremony. According to Mukherji as much as nine lac rupees were spent on that occasion. Interestingly Mukherji (*op.cit* p78) informs that as a munshi of Robert Clive Naba Krishna Dev's monthly salary was Rs. 90 only.

⁸ Interestingly on the title page of a book printed by Biswa Nath in 1823 Battala is not mentioned at all. It is only stated: Printed at Biswa Nath Dev's Press. The reason is not far to seek. The Devs were too well known to need any other reference.

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Classifying Bangla Verbs: Proposals and Prospects*

Mina Dan

Abstract : The present paper selects a few proposals of classifying Bangla verbs, viz. Tagore (1901/2), Chatterji (1926), Basu (1930), Sarkar (1976), Dan (1992), Bhattacharya (1993) and Thompson (2010), from the sectors of both linguistics and other and examines them carefully. Subsequently, it offers an open ended system of Bangla verb classification and illustrates with empirical data the fact that this very system has substantial prospects as it can capture a greater amount of generalization by accommodating a range of irregularities in the field.

Key words. verbs, classification, vowel mutation, conjugation, monosyllabic, disyllabic, alternations

Introduction

Though Bangla presents plentiful of verbless sentences, e.g. *mumbai kolkatar theke Onek befi bEsto jOhor* “Mumbai Kolkata-of than far more busy city” ‘Mumbai is a city far more busy than Kolkata’, the verb sector of the language is no less important than that of any other language. Rather it often appears to be more challenging for various phonological, morphological and syntactic reasons. For example, all the verbs have stem allomorphy (*kin~ken* ‘buy’, *dekh~dEkH* ‘see’, *kor~kOr* ‘do’, *Dek~Dak* ‘call’ etc.), a feature treated under phonology in popular theoretical frameworks. Morphologically, Bangla verbs, unlike those in certain other languages, form a closed though large class. Except through onomatopoeia, no new verb stems¹ can be formed. Innovation is restricted to the creation of new ‘composite verbs’ of the form NOUN DO, ADJECTIVE BE etc. The existence of verbless sentences indeed offers challenges of the syntactic type. As a result, for a long time the sector of verbs has been drawing sufficient attention not only of linguists but also of wordsmiths, grammarians and lexicographers. They studied the field from various angles. Quite a few among these studies provide a classification of Bangla verbs. However, the proposed classifications differ in their patterns and parameters.

The present paper selects seven studies on Bangla verbs which deal with the classification of Bangla verb roots and scrutinizes them carefully. Subsequently, it proposes an open ended method of classifying Bangla verbs, which can make up for the weaknesses of these seven proposals and at the same time can also accommodate adequately a range of irregularities in this sector. In addition, the paper reports a historical classification of Bangla verbs done by Suniti Kumar Chatterji for ready reference and also provides ample empirical data

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to evaluate the prospects of the method proposed here. Besides, while dealing with the previous studies it attempts to submit their views using tree diagrams as far as practicable. One more notable point is that here the term verb root indicates to that segment of a verbal form which, on the one hand, conveys the core meaning of the form throughout the paradigm, and on the other hand, does not contain any suffix indicating tense, aspect, person and formality, viz. the parameters in which Bangla verbs are conjugated.

The selected seven studies², viz. Tagore (1901/2), Chatterji (1926), Basu (1930), Sarkar (1976), Dan (1992), Bhattacharya (1993) and Thompson (2010), are broadly classified as synchronic studies as opposed to the historical study of Chatterji (1926), i.e. the diachronic one. Section (1) will report the diachronic view of Bangla verb classification, section (2) will examine most of the synchronic treatments, section (3) will elaborate the current proposal and section (4) will present the empirical data, which will be followed by a conclusion.

1. The diachronic study: Chatterji (1926/1985)

Listing of Bangla verb roots and treating them from a diachronic point of view date back at least to the Bengali calendar year 1315, i.e. 1908/9. Chatterji (1985:872) referred to an illustrious grammar by Pandit Nakuleshwar Vidyabhushan, published in the Bengali year 1315, which recorded the number of Bengali verb roots as 1,056 including original or primitive roots, causatives and a number of denominatives used chiefly in literature. Chatterji (1985:872) also referred to a voluminous dictionary, the then biggest, by Jnanendra Mohan Das, published in the Bengali year 1323, i.e. 1916, on the basis of which Chatterji himself compiled a list of about 1,500 verb roots, titled *Dhātu-koṣa*, which included a large number of Sanskrit denominative roots, onomatopoeic roots and also a number of obsolete roots not used in New Bengali.

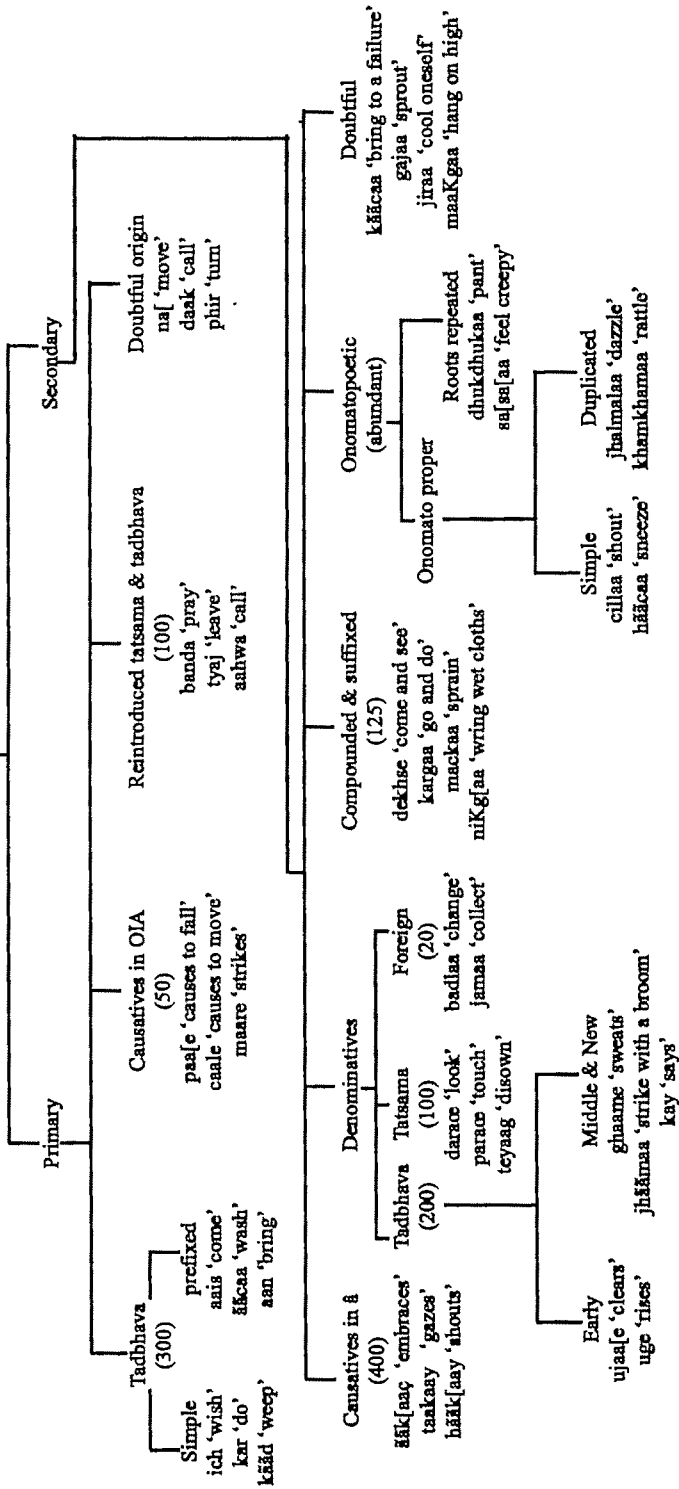
Chatterji (1985:872) also provided a classification of Bangla verb roots on the basis of their origin and partly their function. His classification (along with the number of roots in brackets where available) is as follows³:

This classification is essentially diachronic in two ways, viz. it takes into consideration the historical origin of the verb roots, and it is based on the verbal forms available in various written documents of Bangla belonging to different temporal points.

2. The synchronic studies

Keeping aside the issues of framework, viz. in a broad sense linguistic or non-linguistic and in a narrow sense structural or generative, as such issues are not relevant for the present purpose, in this section we shall examine six studies done from a synchronic

Classification table of SKC



point of view. We shall treat Dan (1992), the seventh one, as the prologue to our current proposal and present it in the next section.

2.1. Tagore [1308] (1901/2)

Subsequent to the popular diachronic approaches, viz. the comparative and historical, the synchronic as well as descriptive approaches in linguistics appeared first in Bloomfield (1933) in the west. However, in the literature of Bangla we come across a list of Bangla verbs compiled by Rabindranath Tagore, a document reflecting distinctly the insights of descriptive approach and, to our surprise, belonging to 1901/2, a period at least three decades earlier than Bloomfield (1933).

Tagore, very uniquely, took into consideration the colloquial spoken Bangla, rather than the Bangla of the written literature, and based on that compiled a list of 269 verb roots of Bangla, which was published in the Bengali calendar year 1308 (Tagore, 1988:464-7). The list is arranged alphabetically incorporating 35 characters of the Bangla alphabet. Though the very arrangement of the list fails to capture any linguistic generalization it offers a few interesting observations. For example, the characters <ī, ū, ai, au, ñ, fi, ŋ, ṣ> have no candidates; <a, i> have one candidate each; <k, b> have the maximum number of candidates, 45 each; though <ṣ> is an important character with a huge number of entry in any dictionary, in the verb list it is not so. These are, no doubt, significant inputs to both the areas of computational linguistic studies and script reform programmes of Bangla. Moreover, the list provides a reliable corpus of spoken Bangla belonging to the beginning of the last century.

2.2. Chatterji (1926/1985)

Chatterji (1926/1985) alongside the diachronic treatment also offers a formal classification of the Bangla verb roots available in the then Standard Colloquial Bangla of Calcutta. Chatterji provides justification for his choice of this particular variety and of verb roots rather than verb endings as follows:

“To classify formally the Bengali verb, it is best to take the Standard Colloquial in which the phonetic advance has been the greatest. The Sādhū-bhāṣā spelling does not consider the present-day vowel changes and contractions, and conjugation in the Sādhū-bhāṣā means only a rigid and regular adding of a series of affixes.” (Chatterji, 1985:893)

“The proper classification of roots in Bengali, viewed from the formal aspect, is not with regard to their affixes (because they are always the same – the Bengali verb presents only one conjugation, and apparent irregularities are only the result of recent phonetic changes), but with regard to the modifications of the root-vowels and also of the affix-vowel in the case of the causatives and denominatives.” (ibid: 892).

Chatterji (1985:893-5) classifies the verb roots into seven groups based on two chief considerations, viz. which vowel a root contains as its nucleus, and whether a root is consonant ending or not. Chatterji identifies five conjugational forms in which a root vowel may undergo modification. These are (i) inferior imperative, which is identical to the root itself, (ii) 3rd person present, (iii) 3rd person past or future, (iv) present participle and (v) conjunctive. A simplified version of the classification along with few examples of the conjugational forms mentioned above is as follows:

- Class I (a): Roots in [O]⁴ closed by a consonant: *kOr* 'do', *bOl* 'say', e.g. (i) *kOr* 'you (antif.) do', (v) *kore* 'doing'.
- (b): Roots ending in [O], originally in [Oh]: *rO* < *rOh* 'remain', *hO* < **Oh* 'be', e.g. (iii) *roybe* 'will remain', *hObe* 'will be'.
- Class II (a): Roots ending in [a]: *kha* 'eat', e.g. (iii) *khelo* 's/he ate'.
- (b): Roots in [a] ending in a consonant: *mar* 'beat', e.g. (v) *mere* 'beating'.
- (c): Roots in [a] originally closed by [h]: *ga* < *gah* 'sing', e.g. (iii) *gaybe* 'will sing'.
- Class III (a): Roots in [i] (archaic): *ji* 'live', e.g. (i) *ji* 'you (antif.) live'.
- (b): Roots in [i] ending in a consonant: *mil* 'unite', e.g. (ii) *mele* 's/he unites'.
- Class IV (a): Roots in [e] (irregular): *de* 'give', e.g. (i) *de* 'you (antif.) give', ((iv) *dite* 'to give'.
- (b): Roots in [e] ending in a consonant: *khel* 'play', e.g. (i) *khEl* 'you (antif.) play', (v) *khele* 'playing'.
- Class V: Roots in [u] ending in a consonant: *sun* 'hear', e.g. (i) *sun* > *fon* 'you (antif.) hear', (iv) *funte* 'to hear'.
- Class VI: Roots in [o]: *fo* 'lie down', *do* 'milk', e.g. (iii) *fobe* 'will lie down', *duybe* 'will milk'.
- Class VII: Causatives and Denominatives in [a]: *kOra* 'cause to do', *dEkha* 'show', e.g. (v) *koriYe* 'getting done', (iii) *dEkhave* 'will show'.

The above classification of the verb roots into seven classes can capture certain amount of generalization, which is, no doubt, of great advantage. However, the proposal has the following disadvantages also.

Firstly, though basically it is a synchronic study it is not totally free from diachronic considerations as is evident in case of the roots at class I(b) and class II(c), the cases in which the earlier forms too are mentioned. It also includes archaic forms, e.g. class III (a).

Secondly, since this proposal is based on the view that Bengali verb presents only one conjugation and consequently pays attention only to the verb roots, rather than the endings, it fails to account for the correlation between the roots and endings in the system. For example, though the roots *ga* 'sing' and *do* 'milk' belong to two different classes, viz. class II and VI respectively, they display similar patterns of conjugation in present continuous (*gayche*, *duyche*), past habitual (*gayto*, *duyto*), future simple (*gaybe*, *duybe*), conditional (*gayle*, *duyle*) and so on. The present proposal fails to show this.

Thirdly, as regards the vowel mutation in verb roots the current proposal cannot give a uniform phonological explanation. It selects the form of inferior imperative, i.e. the 2nd person antiformal present imperative, as the root. The 2nd person antiformal present imperative forms invariably contain the lower vowel of the two, e.g. *kOr*, *mar*, *ga* etc. Hence the proposal implies that a process of vowel raising takes place and we get the alternations like *kor*, *mer*, *ge* from *kOr*, *mar*, *ga* respectively. However, this principle of root selection does not hold good for class III(b), IV (b) and V, where the roots have the higher vowels, *mil*, *khel*, *fun*, while the inferior imperative forms contain the lower vowels, *mel*, *khEl*, *fon* respectively.

Fourthly, Chatterji's own justification, as quoted above, for selecting the then Standard Colloquial Bengali and rejecting the Sādhu-bhāṣā, encourages one to study the verbs of the current Standard Colloquial Bangla afresh, rather than to rely on a study based on the Standard Colloquial Bangla of almost nine decades back.

2.3. Basu (1930)

Basu (1930) is a popular Bangla dictionary titled *Calantika*. In its appendix the lexicographer provides a classification along with lists of 836 Bangla verb roots, which, from a synchronic point of view, is quite exhaustive. Thus Basu (1930) provides a lexicographic document with the following notable points.

- i) The roots are classified into twenty classes called *gaṇas* on the basis of their spelling.
- ii) Each class is named after a familiar root belonging to that very class.
- iii) Causative roots are treated as non-derived simple roots.

We provide below a modified version of the classification of Basu (1930). Using C for virtual consonants and lower case characters for actual vowel, diphthong and consonant letters the first column presents the twenty *gaṇas* or classes and the second column gives the names of the classes⁶. The third and fourth columns present the phonemic representation and the gloss of the root used in each class name respectively.

Classifying Bangla Verbs: Proposals and Prospects

2.3.1.	Ca	ha-class	hO	‘be’
2.3.2.	Caa	khaa-class	kha	‘eat’
2.3.3.	Ci	di-class	di	‘give’
2.3.4.	Cu	fu-class	fu	‘lie down’
2.3.5.	CaC, CaCC, CeC, CoC, CauC	kar-class	kOr	‘do’
2.3.6.	Cah	kah-class	kOh	‘say’
2.3.7.	CaaC	kaaT-class	kaT	‘cut’
2.3.8.	Caah	gaah-class	gah	‘sing’
2.3.9.	CiC	likh-class	likh	‘write’
2.3.10.	CuC, CūC	fun-class	fun	‘hear’
2.3.11.	CaCaa, CaaCaa, CeCaa	laaphaa-class	lapha	‘jump’
2.3.12.	Cahaa, Caahaa	naahaa-class	naha	‘bathe’
2.3.13.	CiCaa, CiCaa	phiraa-class	phira	‘return’
2.3.14.	CuCaa	ghuraa-class	ghura	‘turn round’
2.3.15.	CoCaa	dhoyaa-class	dhoYa	‘wash’
2.3.16.	CauCaa	dauRaa-class	dowRa	‘run’
2.3.17.	CaCCaa, CaaCCaa, CeCCaa	caTkaa-class	cOTka	‘mash’
2.3.18.	CiCCaa	bigRaa-class	bigRa	‘go out of order’
2.3.19.	CuCCaa	ulTaa-class	ulTa	‘turn over’
2.3.20.	CoCCaa	choblaa-class	chobla	(said ‘bite of snakes’)

Though the list of verb roots in Basu (1930) is a reliable document of the then spoken variety of Bangla the method of classification of the roots has its own limitations. The limitations chiefly arise from the decision to classify the verb roots on the basis of their spelling. Bangla does not have spelling pronunciation. Therefore, the mismatches between the spelling and pronunciation of forms result in contradiction and overlapping. Let us explain a few cases.

Bangla <a> has two sound values, [O] and [o]. Bangla <e> too has two sound values, [e] and [E]. Bangla has no letter for [E]. Basu (1930) selected the verb roots following the principle of Acharya Jogeshchandra, viz. delete the final <i> from the 1st person present habitual form to get the verb root (Basu 2005/6: App. 11). For example, *dekh* < *dekh-i* 'I see', *kar* < *kar-i* 'I do' etc. This principle works well as long as we pay attention only to the written forms. But as soon as the sound values of the written letters come into the picture problems start. In terms of pronunciation [dekh] should be the verb root obtained from [dekh-i]. Similarly, in case of the causative form the verb root should be [dEkha] from [dEkha-i] 'I show'. In the same way, the verb roots [kor] and [kOra] are obtained from [kor-i] and the causative [kOra-i] 'I get (it) done' respectively. The non-causative roots [kor] and [dekh] have alternations [kOr] and [dEkh] respectively, e.g. *kOre* 's/he does', *kOr* 'you (antif.) do', *dEkh* 'you (antif.) see', *dEkhen* 's/he (formal) sees' etc. Thus in these cases the principle of root selection implies that the alternative forms are obtained by lowering the root vowel (kor→kOr). Likewise, the causative roots [kOra] and [dEkha] too display root-vowel alternation, e.g. *korieche* 's/he has got (it) done', *dekhio* 'you (inf.) show (fut.)' etc. Thus in these cases the principle of root selection implies a raising of the root vowel (O→o), as opposed to the lowering of root-vowels in non-causatives.

In brief, the proposal gives way to contradictory implications. Besides, the native speakers intuitively know very clearly the relationship between each non-causative verb and its causative counterpart as they never make any mistake in pairing them. This bit of knowledge, however, is not reflected in this proposal, neither formally nor methodologically. Formally the non-causative and causative members of each pair, as selected in this proposal, are not identical, and methodologically, they undergo two opposite processes, viz. lowering and raising of vowel. This is counterintuitive.

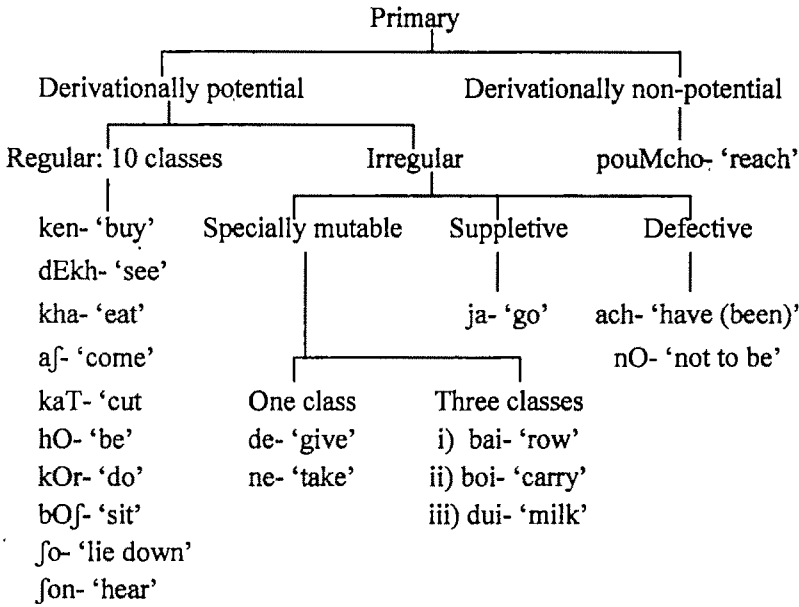
In addition, overlapping is evident in the classification. For example, the *laaphaa*-class (no. 11) also includes *karaa* 'get (it) done' and *tela* 'butter' having the structures CaCaa and CeCaa respectively. While the first vowel of *karaa* undergoes vowel raising (*korieche* 's/he got (it) done'), that of *tela* undergoes vowel lowering (*tElaY* 's/he butters') and that of *laaphaa* remains unaltered.

To sum up, the classification of verb roots in Basu (1930) is essentially a lexicographic document and it fails to meet the terms of linguistics.

2.4. Bhattacharya (1993)

Bhattacharya (1993:83 & 93) classifies the simple verb bases⁷ of Bangla from a descriptive point of view and in the appendix (1993:171) provides a list of 370 verb roots. Initially she classifies the simple bases into two broad categories – primary

and secondary. The category secondary includes the causative and denominative verb bases. She further classifies the primary bases as follows.



Though this classification is very useful it misses certain generalization. In Bangla, roots in [e, o, E, O] have alternations with [i, u, e, o] respectively. For example, [lekh~likh] 'write', [ʃon~ʃun] 'hear', [dEkh~dekh] 'see' and [kOr~kor] 'do'. So if the roots with lower vowels are taken as base forms and those with higher vowels are assumed to derive from them applying a vowel raising rule then a much greater amount of generalization could be captured. Because in this way the *ken-*, *dEkh-*, *kOr-* and *ʃon-* -- all these four classes under the derivationally potential regular group could be combined into one class. This is also empirically justified as follows. On the conjugation table [lekh, ʃon, dEkh, kOr], i.e., the roots with lower vowels display identical distribution, so also do their counterparts with higher vowels, viz. [likh, ʃun, dekh, kor]. Examples are, roots with lower vowels: [tuy lekh, ʃe lekhe, tumi lekho, lekha] 'you (antif.) write, s/he writes, you (inf.) write, writing', similarly, [tuy ʃon, ʃe ʃone, tumi ʃono, ʃona, tuy dEkh, ʃe dEkehe, tumi dEkho, dEkha, tuy kOr, ʃe kOre, tumi kOro, kOra], and roots with higher vowels: [ami likhchi, ʃe likhlo, tuy likhbi, tumi likho, likhe] 'I am writing, s/he wrote, you (antif.) will write, you (inf.) write (fut.), write-conj', and similarly, [ami ʃunchi, ʃe ʃunlo, tuy ʃunbi, tumi ʃuno, ʃune, ami dekhchi, ʃe dekhlo, tuy dekhbi, tumi dekho, dekhe, ami korchhi, ʃe korlo, tuy korbi, tumi koro, kore]. Following the same line even [hO] & [ʃo] could be combined into one class. The proposal also misses economy as it includes classes with only one member also, e.g. the *bOʃ-* and *aʃ-* class.

Moreover, this proposal fails to express that the causative transitive bases like [gal] 'cause to flow out', [cal] 'cause to move', [Dhal] 'cause to pour' etc. are conjugated

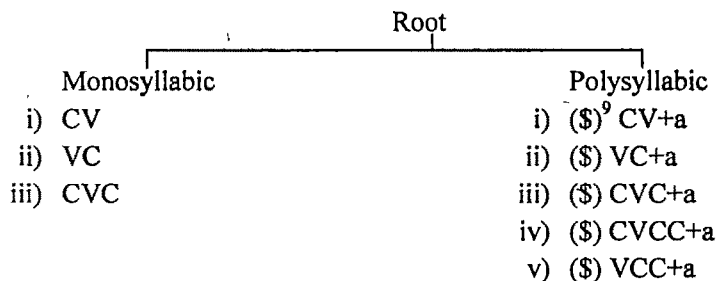
like the *kaT*-class under the derivationally potential regular bases as this proposal in its very first step separates the primary bases from the secondary ones. [kaT] is a primary base while [gal, cal, Dhal] are secondary ones.

In brief, Bhattacharya (1993) is very thorough and informative but being a descriptive study it cannot exploit fully the predictability factor present in the conjugation system. Hence it misses certain generalization and economy.

2.5. Sarkar (1976)

Sarkar (1976) deals with Bangla verbs in the generative framework. This study offers a monomorphemic solution to the root vowel mutation in Bangla verbs in preference to a polymorphemic conclusion available in some earlier studies done from a taxonomic point of view⁸.

Sarkar (1976) recommends a three-level phonological vowel height in Bangla, considers the roots with lower vowels the underlying forms, suggests an one-step vowel raising for them all and puts forward a set of phonological rules leading up to acceptable conjugational outputs. His rules are: (i) vowel heightening rule that raises the root vowel by one step and derives [kin, dekh, jun, kor, Dek] 'buy, see, hear, do, call' from underlying [ken, dEkh, jon, kOr, Dak] respectively, (ii) *i*-dropping rule yielding forms like (UR *kOr+ilam*→*kor+ilam*→) *korlam* 'I did', (iii) *a*→*e* rule (of suffix) yielding (UR *ia*→) *ie*, and (iv) *a*-dropping rule yielding (UR *dEkha+ia*→*dEkha+ie*→) *dEkh+ie*(→*dekhie*) 'showing'. In course of the study he touches upon the issue of verb root classification and offers a classification based on the canonical shapes of the roots as follows.



This classification, however, is not sufficient for Bangla verbs. A few weaknesses of it are: the CV subclass under the monosyllabic root includes roots like [kha, fo, hO] 'eat, lie down, be' and so on. But these roots show variation in their conjugation, e.g. [khaʃ] 'you (antif.) eat', [ʃuʃ] 'you (antif.) lie down', [hoʃ] 'you (antif.) be' – among these 2nd person antiformal present habitual forms the 2nd and 3rd forms have undergone the vowel heightening rule but not the 1st one. A few more examples are, [khacchen] 's/he is eating', but [hocchen, fucchen]; [khak] 's/he (inf.) eat', but [ʃuk, hok] etc.

Likewise, the VC subclass includes both [oTh] 'rise' and [aMk] 'draw'. But [uThi] 'I rise' shows the higher vowel while [aMki] 'I draw' does not. The conjugational table presents plenty of similar examples.

In a word, the primary concern of Sarkar (1976) was to introduce a new framework, the generative framework, in the field of Bangla linguistics and it was successful in doing so. Working out every detail, as expected, depended on future studies.

2.6. Hanne Ruth Thompson (2010)

Among the recent studies Thompson (2010) deals with Bangla verbs in details. According to her (2010:142) "Bengali verbs can be classed into six groups according to their conjugation patterns". The six groups proposed by her are as follows.

Class 1 CVC/VC, e.g. *lekh* 'write', *dEkh* 'see', *kOr* 'do', *oTh* 'rise'

Class 2 CaC, aC, e.g. *thak* 'stay', *af* 'come', *an* 'bring'

Class 3 CV, e.g. *hO* 'be', *fo* 'lie down', *de* 'give', *ne* 'take'

Class 4 Ca, e.g. *ja* 'go', *pa* 'get', *kha* 'eat', *ca* 'want'

Class 5 CaCa/CVCa, e.g. *cala* 'drive', *ghuma* 'sleep'

Class 6 extended o conjugation, *ego* 'advance', *bero* 'go out'

Bangla verb roots, however, do not fit into only six classes. This point will be taken up shortly. Moreover, grouping the irregular verbs, like *de*, *ne*, *af*, *ja*, along with the regular ones fails to do justice to the basic principle of classing the verbs according to their conjugation patterns.

The above discussion explains adequately the nature of the difficulties that exist in the proposals considered here. Any more elaboration would result in redundancy. The following section will elaborate the proposal of the current paper.

3. Current proposal

Paying equal attention to both the canonical shapes of the verb stems and their correlation with the conjugational patterns a classification of Bangla verb stems was provided in Dan (1992) and (1998). Both the studies are done in the generative framework. Recently, while dealing with some aspects of Bangla verbs in the substantivist framework I needed to classify them. I realized that though the method of classification, I proposed earlier (1992 & 1998), has few minute weak points, on the whole it is quite robust in nature as, firstly, it is already tested against a vast body of data, secondly, it can capture a greater amount of generalization, thirdly, it

is not really any framework dependent, and finally, it is fairly open ended in the sense it can accommodate new observations.

The subsequent sections will highlight some general observations on Bangla verbs and based on them will classify the verbs.

3.1. Observations

- 3.1.1. Every conjugated form is of the structure root+ suffix.
- 3.1.2. Roots have alternations more often than not.
- 3.1.3. Primarily it is the root vowel that undergoes change. Consonants hardly play any significant role in this respect.
- 3.1.4. Change in root consonant happens only in exceptional forms.
- 3.1.5. The root vowel changes its height. Phonologists commonly explain the phenomenon as vowel height raising rather than vowel height lowering¹⁰. We too support the view of vowel height raising.
- 3.1.6. Five types of raising are available, viz. [E→e], [e→i], [O→o], [o→u], [a→e]. Needless to mention that the exceptional forms are kept aside.
- 3.1.7. Out of the five types [E→e], [e→i], [O→o] and [o→u] behave similarly, thus they respond to the same set of rules while [a→e] undergoes a different set of rules. The present proposal, however, will not take into consideration the rules, rather it will consider the differences present in the empirical data and classify the verbs accordingly.
- 3.1.8. The information on the number of syllables present in a root too is relevant for verb classification. This is so because the raising of vowel takes place only in the ultimate and penultimate syllables in a root while the vowels of other syllables, if any, are not subjected to vowel raising. For example, the first [O] of the root [jhOm-jhO-ma] 'make noise (said of rain)' never changes, [jhOmjomie briʃTi elo] 'It started raining noisily/ heavily'. Accordingly we classify the verb roots into two groups, viz. monosyllabic and disyllabic, and include the roots with more than two syllables under the disyllabic group.
- 3.1.9. Even the suffixes undergo certain types of change.
- 3.1.10. Change in suffixes is of chief three types, (i) deletion, e.g. *cch*→*ch*, *khacchi* 'I am eating', but *korchi* 'I am doing' (ii) semivowel formation, e.g. *Y*-formation, *koreche* 's/he has done', but *hoYeche* 's/h has become'

and (iii) semivowel substitution, e.g. $e \rightarrow Y$, *kOre* 's/he does', but *foY* 's/he lies down'.

- 3.1.11. These changes take place at the boundaries between roots and suffixes depending on the types of segments, viz. vowels and consonants, present at each end. The combinations and consequences are stated below. + indicates the boundary between root and suffix.

C+V: no change

V+C: no change

C+C: undergoes change

V+V: undergoes change

- 3.1.12. Bangla finite verbs are conjugated for tense-and-aspect (present simple, present progressive, present perfect, present imperative, past simple, past habitual, past progressive, past perfect, future simple and future imperative), person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and formality (formal and informal in the 3rd person and formal, informal and antiformal in the 2nd person) while the non-finite verbs comprise infinitive, conjunctive, conditional and gerund forms.

- 3.1.13. Not all the roots are conjugated in the same way. Roots with same conjugational pattern belong to the same class irrespective of the causative-non-causative distinction – following this principle Bangla verbs may be classified in eight classes as stated at 3.2.

- 3.1.14. One notable point at this juncture is that we shall classify Bangla verbs on the basis of real verb forms rather than on the basis of roots or stems or base forms, the more widely known terms of grammar that we have been using till now, for reasons given below. We select the 2nd person antiformal present imperative form of verbs (e.g. *kha* 'you (antif.) eat', *kOr* 'you (antif.) do', *dEkKh* 'you (antif.) see', *fo* 'you (antif.) lie down', *lekh* 'you (antif.) write' etc.) for this purpose because they are the simplest and shortest on the conjugational tables. Justifications are –

Firstly, the root-based classification has at least two problems – (i) there is no uniform method for identifying roots, e.g., Chatterji (1926) does not mention any method overtly while Basu (1930) deletes the final [-i] suffix from the 1st person present simple form and treats the remaining part as root. As opposed to these the forms identified as roots or bases or stems in Sarkar (1976), Bhattacharya (1993) and Thompson (2010) are identical to the 2nd person antiformal present imperative forms though nothing is stated overtly in this regard in these studies. (ii) Root, base and stem are theoretical terms; they differentiate between the theoretical and empirical aspects of certain linguistic units. Hence they involve abstractness. For example, forms like [dekhh, kor, fu, ho] 'see, do, lie down, be', attested as

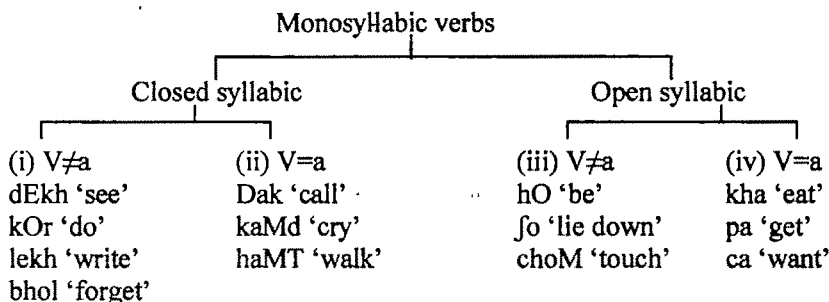
roots in Basu (1930), never occur in isolation in Bangla. On the other hand, forms like [dEkʰ, kOr, ʃo, hO] as 2nd person antiformal present imperative forms are obtained in more than one framework by adding a zero suffix to abstract roots. If options are there it is rational to avoid abstractness.

Secondly, the 2nd person antiformal present imperative forms are real forms with simplest structure, so they are easy to analyse.

Thirdly, the 2nd person antiformal present imperative form of each and every verb consistently has the lower vowel. Hence they are free from any raising-lowering conflict.

3.2. Classification

The two chief classes of Bangla verbs are – monosyllabic and disyllabic. The monosyllabic class has the following sub-classes.



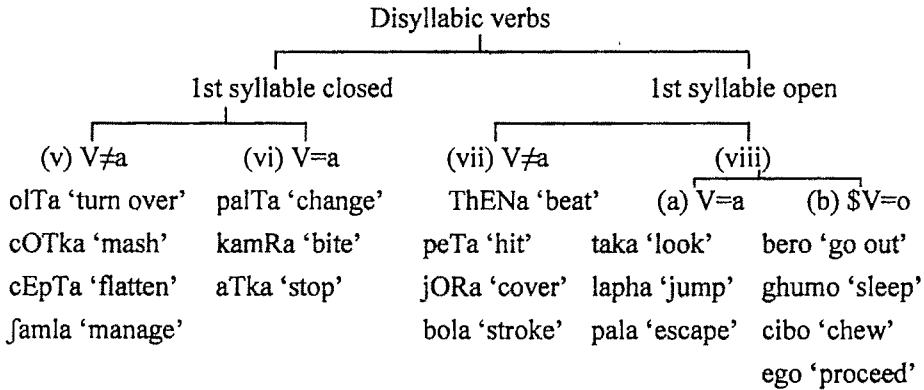
Monosyllabic verbs may contain a closed syllable or an open syllable and accordingly their conjugation varies, after open syllables the suffixal forms are [-cchi, -cche] etc. (*khacchi* 'I am eating', *chuMcche* 's/he is touching') while after closed syllables such forms are [-chi, -che] etc. (*korchi* 'I am doing', *Dakche* 's/he is calling'). Hence they are divided into two sub-classes – closed and open. Under both the categories verbs are divided into two groups – verbs with nucleus other than [a] and those with [a] – as depending on this information verbs respond differently to vowel height raising on the conjugation table. For example, the forms [likʰiʃ, likʰche, likʰto, likʰbe] 'you (antif.) write, s/he is writing, s/he used to write, you will write' etc. of [lekʰ] of group (i) have raised vowel while the forms [haMTiʃ, haMTche, haMTto, haMTbe] 'you (antif.) walk, s/he is walking, s/he used to walk, you will walk' etc. of [haMT] of group (ii) do not.

A few examples of the difference between groups (i) and (iii) are - the forms [korbe, likʰbe, dekhbe] 's/he will do, s/he will write, s/he will see' (of verbs of (i)) have raised vowel while the forms [hObe, ʃobe] 's/he will be, s/he will lie down' (of verbs of (iii)) do not. Group (iii) also lacks alternations with [E→e].

Likewise, the forms [chuMcchif, chuMʃ] 'you (antif.) are touching, you (antif.) touch' of [choM] of group (iii) have raised vowel while the forms [khacchif, khaʃ] 'you (antif.) are eating, you (antif.) eat' of [kha] of group (iv) do not.

In the monosyllabic class group (i) has the maximum number of members.

Disyllabic verbs too have four groups as follows.



Disyllabic verbs, in terms of classification, are more interesting than the monosyllabic class as they exhibit two unique types of alternation, viz. verb-final [a~o] alternation and verbs with alternative conjugations¹¹. The 2nd person antiformal present imperative forms of a handful of verbs end in [o], e.g. [bero] 'you (antif.) go out', [ghumo] 'you (antif.) sleep', [cibo] 'you (antif.) chew', [ego] 'you (antif.) proceed', [pecho] 'you (antif.) move back', [bilo] 'you (antif.) distribute', [bulo] 'you (antif.) stroke' etc., as opposed to the final [a] of other disyllabic verbs, e.g. [cOTka] 'you (antif.) mash', [kamRa] 'you (antif.) bite', [ThENa] 'you (antif.) beat', [pala] 'you (antif.) escape' etc.

The [o] ending group of verbs are composed of two open syllables. The nucleus of the 1st syllable is always a non-[a] vowel. However, the information on specific features of this vowel is not relevant for the purpose of conjugation. Rather, whether the 2nd syllable ends in [o] or not is the most relevant fact conjugationally. The 1st syllable open and has [a] as nucleus class (i.e. viiia) and the 1st syllable open and 2nd syllable ends in [o] class (i.e. viiib) – both these classes conjugate alike, e.g. [takay, egoy, palabe, berobe, laphato, egoto] 'I look, I proceed, will escape, will go out, used to jump, used to proceed' etc., which is why both of them have been grouped as sub-groups (a) & (b) under (viii).

The verbs with alternative conjugations have two alternative forms, viz. a-ending and o-ending, and they are very few in number. For example, [bola]~[bulo] 'stroke', [ʃodhra]~[ʃudhro] 'correct' etc. The [a]-ending forms conjugate like similar [a]-ending forms, e.g. [bola] belongs to class (vii) and all the members of class (vii) conjugate alike, while [ʃodhra] belongs to class (v) and is conjugated like

any other member of that class. As opposed to this their counter parts, ending in [o], conjugate like any other member of class (viii), which includes the [o]-ending verbs.

Verbs with [a] in the first syllable irrespective of their closed-open structure and verbs ending in [o], i.e. verbs under (vi) and (viii), do not show vowel mutation at all though the verbs with [e, o, E, O] in the first syllable, i.e. verbs under (v) and (vii), show vowel mutation. For example, [kamReche, ghumieche, egieche, berieche, cibieche] 's/he has bitten, s/he has slept, s/he has proceeded, s/he has gone out, s/he has chewed', but [coTkeche, piTieche] 's/he has mashed, s/he has hit' etc.

One notable point here is that the verbs with [i & u] as syllable nucleus are available only in group (viii) in Bangla.

We shall conclude this discussion with a few examples showing the difference between the 1st syllable closed and 1st syllable open classes. While verbs of the former class take *-e* and *-echilo* [coTke, kamRechilo] 'mashing, s/he had bit', those of the latter take *-ie* and *-iechilo* [berie, egie, takie, laphiechilo, cibiechilo] 'going out, proceeding, looking, s/he had jumped, s/he had chewed'.

4. Empirical data

The current section presents the full conjugation tables of eight verbs belonging to the eight groups mentioned above respectively and a handful of exceptional verbs which do not fit these tables for various reasons.

4.1. Conjugation tables

4.1.1. Group (i): [kOr] 'do'

	3rd per Informal	3rd/2nd per. Formal	2nd per Informal	2nd per Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	kOre	kOren	kOro	korɪʃ	korɪ
Present progressive	korche	koi chen	korcho	korchiʃ	korchi
Present perfect	koreche	korechen	korecho	korechiʃ	korechi
Present imperative	koruk	korun	kOro	kOr	—
Past simple	korlo	korlen	korle	korɪ	korlam
Past habitual	korto	korten	korte	kortɪʃ	kortam
Past progressive	korchilo	korchilen	korchile	korchili(f)	korchilam
Past perfect	korechilo korechilam	korechilen	korechile	korechili	
Future simple	korbe	korben	korbe	korɪ	korbo
Future imperative	korbe	korben	koro	korɪʃ	—
Conjunctive	kore				

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Conditional	korle
Infinitive	korte
Gerund	kOra, kOrba

4.1.2. Group (ii): [Dak] ‘call’

	3rd per Informal	3rd/2nd per Formal	2nd per Informal	2nd per Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	Dake	Daken	Dako	Dakɔf	Daki
Present progressive	Dakche	Dakchen	Dakcho	Dakchɔf	Dakchu
Present perfect	Dekeche	Dekechen	Dekecho	Dekechɔf	Dekechu
Present imperative	Dakuk	Dakun	Dako	Dak	—
Past simple	Daklo	Daklen	Dakle	Dakli	Daklam
Past habitual	Dakto	Dakten	Dakte	Daktɔf	Daktam
Past progressive	Dakchilo	Dakchilen	Dakchile	Dakchili(f)	Dakchilam
Past perfect	Dekechilo Dekechilam	Dekechilen	Dekechile	Dekechuli	
Future simple	Dakbe	Dakben	Dakbe	Dakbi	Dakbo
Future imperative	Dakbe	Dakben	Deko	Dakɔf	—
Conjunctive	Deke				
Conditional	Dakle				
Infinitive	Dakte				
Gerund	Daka, Dakba				

4.1.3. Group (iii): [hO] ‘be’

	3rd per Informal	3rd/2nd per Formal	2nd per Informal	2nd per Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	hOY	hOn	hOW	hoɔf	hoy
Present progressive	hocche	hocoen	hoccho	hocchɔf	hocchi
Present perfect	hoYeche	hoYechen	hoYecho	hoYechɔf	hoYechu
Present imperative	hok	hon	hOW	hO	—
Past simple	holo	holen	hole	holi	holam
Past habitual	hoto	boten	hote	hotɔf	hotam
Past progressive	hocchilo	hocchilen	hocchile	hocchili(f)	hocchilam
Past perfect	hoYechilo hoYechilam	hoYechilen	hoYechile	hoYechuli	
Future simple	hObe	hOben	hObe	hobi	hObo
Future imperative	hObe	hOben	hoYo	hoɔf	—
Conjunctive	hoYe				
Conditional	hole				

Infinitive	hote
Gerund	hOWa, hOba

4.1.4. Group (iv): [kha] 'eat'

	3rd per. Informal	3rd/2nd per. Formal	2nd per. Informal	2nd per. Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	khaY	khan	khaW	khaʃ	khay
Present progressive	khacche	khacchen	khaccho	khacchʃ	khacchi
Present perfect	kheYechē	kheYechen	kheYecho	kheYechʃ	kheYechi
Present imperative	khak	khan	khaW	kha	---
Past simple	khelo	khelen	khele	kheli	khelam
Past habitual	kheto	kheten	kheto	khetʃ	khetam
Past progressive	khacchilo	khacchilen	khacchile	khacchili(j)	khacchilam
Past perfect	kheYechilo kheYechilam	kheYechilen	kheYechile	kheYechili	
Future simple	khabe	khaben	khabe	khabi	khabo
Future imperative	khabe	khaben	kheYo	khaʃ	---
Conjunctive	kheYe				
Conditional	khele				
Infinitive	khete				
Gerund	khaWa, khaba				

4.1.5. Group (v): [olTa] 'turn over'

	3rd per. Informal	3rd/2nd per. Formal	2nd per. Informal	2nd per. Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	olTaY	olTan	olTaW	olTaʃ	olTay
Present progressive	olTacche	olTacchen	olTaccho	olTacchʃ	olTacchi
Present perfect	ulTeche	ulTechen	ulTecho	ulTechʃ	ulTechi
Present imperative	olTak	olTan	olTaW	olTa	---
Past simple	olTalo	olTalen	olTale	olTali	olTalam
Past habitual	olTato	olTaten	olTate	olTatʃ	olTatam
Past progressive	olTacchilo	olTacchilen	olTacchile	olTacchili(j)	olTacchilam
Past perfect	ulTechilo ulTechilam	ulTechilen	ulTechile	ulTechili	
Future simple	olTabe	olTaben	olTabe	olTabi	olTabo
Future imperative	olTabe	olTaben	ulTao	olTaʃ	---
Conjunctive	ulTe				
Conditional	olTale				
Infinitive	olTate				

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Gerund olTano, olTaba

4.1.6. Group (vi): [paITa] ‘change’

	3rd per. Informal	3rd/2nd per. Formal	2nd per. Informal	2nd per. Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	paITaY	paITan	paITaW	paITaʃ	paITay
Present progressive	paITacche	paITacchen	paITaccho	paITacchiʃ	paITacchi
Present perfect	paITecche	paITecchen	paITecho	paITechiʃ	paITechi
Present imperative	paITak	paITan	paITaW	paITa	---
Past simple	paITalo	paITalen	paITale	paITali	paITalam
Past habitual	paITato	paITaten	paITate	paITatiʃ	paITatam
Past progressive	paITacchilo paITacchilam	paITacchilen	paITacchile	paITacchiliʃ	
Past perfect	paITechilo paITechilam	paITechilen	paITechile	paITechili	
Future simple	paITabe	paITaben	paITabe	paITabi	paITabo
Future imperative	paITabe	paITaben	paITao	paITaʃ	---
Conjunctive	paITe				
Conditional	paITale				
Infinitive	paITate				
Gerund	paITano, paITaba				

4.1.7. Group (vii): [peTa] ‘hit’

	3rd per. Informal	3rd/2nd per. Formal	2nd per. Informal	2nd per. Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	peTaY	peTan	peTaW	peTaʃ	peTay
Present progressive	peTacche	peTacchen	peTaccho	peTacchiʃ	peTacchi
Present perfect	piTieche	piTiechen	piTiecho	piTiechiʃ	piTiechi
Present imperative	peTak	peTan	peTaW	peTa	---
Past simple	peTalo	peTalen	peTale	peTali	peTalam
Past habitual	peTato	peTaten	peTate	peTatiʃ	peTatam
Past progressive	peTacchilo peTacchilam	peTacchilen	peTacchile	peTacchiliʃ	
Past perfect	piTiechilo piTiechilam	piTiechilen	piTiechile	piTiechili	
Future simple	peTabe	peTaben	peTabe	peTabi	peTabo
Future imperative	peTabe	peTaben	piTio	peTaʃ	---
Conjunctive	piTie				
Conditional	peTale				
Infinitive	peTate				

Gerund

peTano, peTaba

4.1.8. Group (viii): [lapha] 'jump'

	3rd per Informal	3rd/2nd per Formal	2nd per. Informal	2nd per Antiformal	1st per
Present simple	laphaY	laphan	laphaW	laphaʃ	laphay
Present progressive	laphacche	laphacchen	laphaccho	laphacchʃ	laphacchi
Present perfect	laphieche	laphiechen	laphiecho	laphiechʃ	laphiechu
Present imperative	laphak	laphan	laphaW	lapha	---
Past simple	laphalo	laphalen	laphale	laphali	laphalam
Past habitual	laphato	laphaten	laphate	laphatʃ	laphatam
Past progressive	laphachilo laphachilam	laphacchilen	laphacchile	laphacchili(ʃ)	
Past perfect	laphiechilo laphiechilam	laphiechilen	laphiechile	laphiechili	
Future simple	laphabe	laphaben	laphabe	laphabi	laphabo
Future imperative	laphabe	laphaben	laphio	laphaʃ	---
Conjunctive	laphue				
Conditional	laphale				
Infinitive	laphate				
Gerund	laphano, laphaba				

4.2. Exceptions

The eight tables stated above accommodate almost all the verbs of Bangla and thus all the formal variations, regular and irregular, available in the verbal sector. Nevertheless, there remain naturally a handful of exceptional verbs in the language which do not fit into these tables. Most of them are extremely common verbs with very high frequency of occurrence. They are of four types.

4.2.1. Negative verbs

Bangla has three kinds of negative verbs - (i) Invariant negative [ney] 'not', as opposed to the existential verb [ach] 'am/is/are' in present tense, e.g. *fe ache* 's/he is (there)' vs. *fe ney* 's/he is not (there)', *tumi acho* 'you are (there)' vs. *tumi ney* 'you are not (there)'. (ii) Variant negative [nO-] 'not', as opposed to the verb [hO] 'be' in present tense, e.g. *ami noy* 'I am not', *apni nOn* 'you (formal) are not', *tuy nof* 'you (antif.) are not' etc. and (iii) negative particles [ni] 'not' in past & present perfect, e.g. *kOre ni* 's/he has not done' and [na] 'not' in other categories, e.g. *kori na* 'I don't do', *korlam na* 'I did not do', *korbo na* 'I shall not do'. Negative particles always follow the verb.

4.2.2. Verbs with an extra -y-

Verbs like [ga, na, ca, ʃO, rO, do, ro] ‘sing, bathe, want, endure, remain, milk, plant’ form an exceptional class because they differ from the verbs with the canonical shape CV, i.e. groups (iii) and (iv), at least in three ways – (i) in many categories forms of these verbs display an extra semivowel -y- and in this respect all these seven verbs behave consistently, e.g. [gaybo] ‘I shall sing’, [naybe] ‘s/he will bathe’, [caylo] ‘s/he wanted’, [ʃoyto] ‘s/he used to endure’, [duyte] ‘to milk’ etc., (ii) vowel raising is different, e.g. [khelo] ‘s/he ate’, [pelo] ‘s/he got’, but [caylo], and (iii) several forms of the verbs with non-[a] nucleus are not used in the language, e.g. present imperative forms of 3rd person are not there in the language.

4.2.3. Verbs with four alternations

Verbs [de] ‘give’ and [ne] ‘take’ unlike others with two alternations have four alternations with four vowels of four heights, e.g. [dicchi, debo, dEn, daW] ‘I am giving, I shall give, s/he (formal) gives, you (inf.) give’, [nin, ne, nEY, naW] ‘you (formal) take, you (antif.) take, s/he (inf.) takes, you (inf.) take’.

4.2.4. Verbs with suppletion

Verbs /ach, ja, aʃ/ ‘be/have, go, come’ have alternations involving suppletion, e.g. [achi, chilam, thakbo] ‘I am, I was, I shall be’, [jetam, gelam] ‘I used to go, I went’, and [aʃe, aY, elo] ‘s/he comes, you (antif.) come, s/he came’.

Conclusion

In gist, the classification proposed here has the following properties:

Firstly, the verb class in Bangla being a closed class has been scrutinized here quite thoroughly both in terms of their canonical shapes and conjugational pattern variations along with exceptions.

Secondly, this classification captures a greater amount of generalization.

Thirdly, if any new observation comes up, which we have missed here or even which are yet to occur, that could be easily put up in the classification as it is open to readjustment.

Fourthly, the significance of new observations may be double checked, in terms of canonical shapes and conjugational patterns, and incorporated accordingly. In other words, the method provides an evaluation measure too.

Fifthly, this method may apply even to the larger verb strings like compound verbs, conjunct verbs and so on because it can account for the conjugated part of those verbs adequately.

Finally, since the current paper reports and examines the major studies on this aspect along with placing its own proposal it provides a near exhaustive account of the issue of verb classification in Bangla.

Notes:

1. The terms stem, root and base are used almost interchangeably in the paper.
2. Tagore (1901/2) & Basu (1930) are written in Bangla while others are in English.
3. <aa> indicates <ā>.
4. For transcription I follow Ray et al (1966): E is a low front vowel, O is a low back vowel (unrounded and rounded respectively). T D R are retroflex, N is a velar, ʃ is a palato-alveolar. Y W are mid counterparts of y w. M indicates nasalization of the vowel or diphthong immediately preceding it. a and ā are the same. The original transcription of Chatterji (1985) too is converted into the Ray et al system for the sake of convenience of printing.
5. The terms used here for the three grades of formality are formal-informal-antiformal. Thus antiformal (antif.) replaces inferior of Chatterji (1985).
6. The name of each class is modified as X-class, from the original X-etc.
7. Bhattacharya differentiates between roots and bases. For clarification see Bhattacharya (1993:73-6).
8. See Sarkar (1976:279).
9. (\$) is an optional syllable.
10. See Dan (1998) for the details of the debate.
11. The term suggested by Thompson (personal communication).

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■ Semester I ■

Introduction to Linguistics

(40+10 Marks)

Code: A1

Module I

Scope and nature of linguistics; Branches of linguistics; Language and Communication. Definition of language; Characteristics of language.

Theories regarding the origin of language.

Levels of language and their hierarchy; phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic.

Language relation: genetic, areal, typological and morphological.

Language: spoken language and written modes and relation between them; Writing systems: evolution of writing systems.

Concepts of Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Relations; Synchronic and Diachronic relations; Competence and Performance; Innateness hypothesis; Langue and Parole.

Language universals and specific properties of language

Module II

Language variations: Dialect, Idiolect and Language; Dialect geography and isoglosses; Register, Style, Code, Sociolect; Pidgins and Creoles.

Standardisation of language: processes of standardization.

Language as a system of communication: Communicative functions of language: Referential, Emotive, Conative, Poetic, Metalinguistic and Phatic functions of language; Animal communication and human communication; Design features of language.

Semantics: Basic concepts.

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Morphology I and Syntax I

(20+20+10 Marks)

Code – A2

Module – I

Morphology I

Place of Morphology in Structural Linguistics and Generative Grammar; Interaction of Morphology with Phonology and Syntax.

Concept of word; Kinds of word— Phonological, Orthographic and Grammatical word, lexeme and word form; hierarchical structure of word; word vs. morpheme.

Concept of morpheme, morph and allomorph; Relationship between morph and morpheme; Morphophonemics; Conditioning of allomorphs; Types of morph; Concept of underlying representation and rule ordering in Morphology.

Basic constituents of word structure—Root, Stem, Base, Affixes, Types of affixes; Inflectional vs. Derivational Morphology; Nature and classification of Inflectional and Derivational affixes; Exercises on morphological analysis.

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- Fromkin V. et al. (2003) : *An Introduction to Language*. 7th ed. Indian edition.
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- Hall R.(1964) : *Introductory Linguistics*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. (Reprint)
- Hockett C.F. (1958): *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. London: Macmillan (Indian edition: Calcutta, New Delhi: Oxford and IBH).
- Jensen J.T. (1990) : *Morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Katamba F. (1993): *Morphology*. London: Macmillan.
- Langacker R. (1972): *Fundamentals of Linguistic Analysis*. New York: Harcourt Brace
- Lieber R. (1981): *On the Organization of Lexicon*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Lyons J. (1968) : *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge : The University Press.
- Marchand H.(1969): *The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word-formation*. Munich: C.H.Beck.
- Matthews P.H. (1974) : *Morphology : An Introduction to the Theory of Word Structure*. Cambridge : The University Press.
- Palmer F. (1971): *Grammar*. Harmondsworth : Penguin.
- Scalise S. (1984): *Generative Morphology*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Selkirk E. (1982): *The Syntax of Words*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Thakur D. (1997): *Linguistics Simplified : Morphology*. Patna : Bharati Bhawan.

Module II

Syntax I

Basic concepts: IC analysis and its limitations; Generative Grammar; The Transformational framework: recursion, creativity, deep structure – surface structure, competence – performance, observational - descriptive – explanatory adequacy, components of a TG Grammar; Constituents: noun phrase and verb phrase constituents; Lexicon and Features, Simplicity and Linguistic Explanation.

Rules: phrase structure rules, transformational rules, segment structure rules, context free and context sensitive rules, optional and obligatory rules, singularly and generalized rules, meaning changing and meaning preserving rules, structural description and structural change, ordering of rules.

Transformations: elementary transformational processes, phrase marker; A few transformations: passivization, reflexivization, extraposition, affix hopping, Do support, dative movement.

References

- Azad, Humayun. 1984. *Vākyatattva* (Syntactic Theory). Dhaka: Bangla Academy.
- Bhattacharya, Shishir. 1998. *Saṁjānāṁ Vyākaraṇ* (Generative Grammar). Dhaka: Charu Prakashani.
- Chakraborty, Udaya Kumar. 2000. *Bāmlā Saṁvartāṁ Vyākaraṇ* (Generative Grammar of Bengali). Kolkata: Prama Prakashani.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structure*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Dasgupta, Probal. 1987. *Kathār Kriyākarma* (Functions of Utterance). Kolkata: Deys' Publishing.
- Fromkin, V. and R. Rodman. 1988. *An Introduction to Language*. 4th edn. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston. (7th edn. Indian edn. 2003)
- Hockett, Charles F. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. London: Macmillan (Indian edition: Calcutta: Oxford & IBH).
- Jacobs, Roderick A. & Peter S. Rosenbaum 1968. *English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham, Mass. etc.: Blaisdell Publishing Company.
- Jacobsen, Bent. 1978. *Transformational Generative Grammar: An introductory survey of its genesis and development*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam etc.: North-Holland.
- Langacker, R.W. 1972. *Fundamentals of Linguistic Analysis*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Majumdar, Abhijit. 2000. *Studies in the Anaphoric Relations in Bengali*. Kolkata: Subarnarekha.
- Radford, A. 1988. *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Phonetics
Code – A3

(40+10 Marks)

Module I

Definition, aim and scope of Phonetics; Branches of Phonetics; Organs of Speech; Processes of speech production—Airstream process, Phonation process, Voice Onset time, Articulatory process, Oro-nasal process.

Module II

Classification of speech sounds: vowels and consonants (vocalic and consonantal); Production, classification and description of consonants; Production, classification and description of vowels; Cardinal vowels; Monophthongs vs. Diphthongs; Types of diphthongs; Syllable; International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA); Phonetic transcription and its types;

Fundamentals of Acoustic phonetics

References

- Abercrombie, D. 1967. *Elements of General Phonetics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ashby, M. and Maidment, J. 2005. *Introducing Phonetic Science*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Bhattacharya, K. 2000. *Bengali Phonetic Reader*. Mysore: CIIL.
- Catford, J.C. 1988. *A Practical Introduction to Phonetics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1921. *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*. London: International Phonetic Association.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1928. *A Bengali Phonetic Reader*. London: University of London.
- Clark, J. and C. Yallop 1995. *An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology*. London: Blackwell.
- Davenport, M and S. J. Hannah 1998. *Introducing Phonetics and Phonology*. London: Arnold.
- Gimson, A.C. 1980. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. London: Arnold.
- Hai, M.A. 1985. *Dhvanivijñān O Bamlā dhvanitattva* (Bengali Phonetics and Phonology). 4th Reprint. Dhaka: Mullick Brothers.
- Heffner, R.S. 1949. *General Phonetics*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin.
- Jones, D. 1960. *An Outline of English Phonetics*. 9th ed. Cambridge: Heffer.
- Joos, M. 1948. *Acoustic Phonetics*. (Language Monograph No.23.) Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America.
- Ladefoged, P. 1993. *A Course in Phonetics*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Ladefoged, P. and I. Maddieson 1996. *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ladefoged, P. 1962. *Elements of Acoustic Phonetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Laver, J. 1994. *Principles of Phonetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Malmberg, B. 1963. *Phonetics*. New York: Dover.
- O'Connor, J.D. 1973. *Phonetics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Pike, K.L. 1947. *Phonetics*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Stetson, R.H. 1951. *Motor Phonetics*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Zeenat Imitiaz Ali, (2001). *Dhvanivijñāner Bhūmikā* (Introduction to phonetics). Dhaka: Mowla Brothers

Historical Linguistics I and Indo-European Linguistics (20+20+10 Marks)
Code – A4

Module – 1
Historical Linguistics I

Borrowing- Lexical and Structural; Motivations of borrowing; Types of borrowing- cultural, intimate, dialect; Direction of borrowing; Classification of loan words- calque, loan blend, loan translation, tatsama, tadbhava etc; Impact of borrowing – Pidgin, Creole. Semantics – basic concept and types of semantic change.

Analogy – basic concept and types of analogical change; Interplay of sound change and analogy; Introducing Neogrammarian hypothesis; Family Tree and Wave Model; Extensions of Neogrammarian theory- social motivations for sound change- studies of William Labov- Martha's Vineyard and New York City; Lexical Diffusion of sound change- concept and application.

References

- Aitchison, J. 1991. *Language Change. Progress or Decay?* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, G. 1973. *Structural Aspects at Language Change*. London: Longman.
- Anttila, R. 1989. *An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. 2nd edn. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Arlotto, A, 1981. *Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. Washington, DC: University Press of America. (Reprinted).
- Baldi, P. (ed.) 1990. *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bloomfield, L. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Bhat, D.N.S. 2001. *Sound Change*. 2nd edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bynon, Th. 1977. *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, L. 1998. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crowley, T. 1992. *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. 2nd edn. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Hock, H. H. 1986. *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hock, H. H. and Joseph, B. D. 1996. *Language History, Language Change and Language Relationship*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hockett, C.F. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.

- Jeffers, R. J and I. Lehiste 1979. *Principles and Methods of Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- King, R.D. 1969. *Generative Grammar and Historical Linguistics*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Labov, W. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lehmann, W.P. 1962. *Historical Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Lehmann, W.P. and Y. Malkiel (eds.) 1968. *Directions for Historical Linguistics*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- McMohan, A.M.S.1994. *Understanding Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trask, R.L. 1996. *Historical Linguistics*. London: Arnold.

Module – II

Indo-European Linguistics

Indo-European family – its linguistic features - languages and their different branches – dialectal inter-relationship - Centum-Satam division, PIE phonemes and their developments in different languages –different phonetic laws-Accent .Ablaut.

References

- Banerjee, S.R. 2001. *Indo-European Linguistics*. (Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji Memorial Lecture). :Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar.
- Beekes, R.S.O. 1998. *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics*. Amsterdam:John Benjamins.
- Brugmann, K. 1904. *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen*. Strausburg.
- Burrow, T. 1965. *The Sanskrit Language* (2nd edn). London: Faber.
- Clackson, J. 2007. *Indo-European Linguistics, an Introduction*. Cambridge University Press
- Hudson-Williams, T. 1951. *A short Introduction to the study of Comparative Grammar (Indo-European)*. Cardiff.
- Kurylowich, J. 1964. *Inflectional Categories of Indo-European*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lindener, F.O. 1987. *Introduction to the 'Laryngeal Theory'*. Oslo : Norwegian University Press.
- Majumdar, P.C. 1997. *Pr̥thivī Bhāṣā, Indo-Eurōpio prasāṅga* (World languages, about Indo-European). Kolkata:Paschimbanga Bangla Akademi.
- Meillet, A. 1937. *Introduction etude comparative des langues indo-europeens*. 8th edn. Paris: Hachette.
- Misra, S.S. 1968. *A comparative grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite*. Calcutta: World Press.
- Palmer, L.R. 1964. *The Latin Language*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Palmer, L.R. 1980. *The Greek Grammar*. London: Faber & Faber.

- Sen, S.K (ed). 1994. Proto-Indo-European: A Multi-angular View. *Journal of Indo-European Studies*. Vol 22. no. 1&2
- Sen, S. 1958. *History and Prehistory of Sanskrit*. Mysore:Mysore University.
- Sturtevant, E.H. 1942. *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*. Baltimore : Linguistic society of America.
- Sturtevant, E.H. 1951. *A Comparative grammar of the Hittite Language*. Revised edn. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America.
- Szemerényi, O.J.L. 1990. *Introduction to the Indo-European Linguistics*. 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

■ Semester II ■

Phonology
Code – B1

(40+10 Marks)

Module I

Phonology (phonemics): Relationship between Phonetics and Phonology; concept of Phoneme; phone, phoneme, allophone; Phonemic principles: phonetic similarity, contrast, complementary distribution, free variation, economy, symmetrical patterning; neutralization, archi-phoneme; Goals of phonological theory; Different views of the phoneme.

Module II

Levels of phonological representation; Distinctiveness and redundancy; Opposition; Distinctive features; Natural class; Abstractness; Markedness; Phonological rules: notational devices, rule writing; Rule ordering; Morpheme-structure rules; Readjustment rules; Different processes used in phonology; Morphophonemics; Alternants; Suprasegmental units: phonological and grammatical; Syllables; Stress; Tone; Linear Vs. Non-linear approaches.

References

- Allen, J.P.B. & P. Van Buren (eds.) 1971. *Chomsky: Selected Readings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, S.R. 1974. *The Organization of Phonology*. New York: Academic Press.
- Carr, Philip. 1993. *Phonology*. London: Macmillan.
- Chomsky, Noam & Morris Halle. 1968. *The Sound Pattern of English*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Dell, F. 1980. *Generative Phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldsmith, J.A. (ed.) 1995. *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*. London: Blackwell.
- Goldsmith, J.A. (ed.) 1999. *Phonological Theory: The Essential Readings*. London: Blackwell.
- Hogg, R. & C.B. McCully. 1987. *Metrical Phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hyman, L.M. 1975. *Phonology: Theory and Analysis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Katamba, F. 1989. *An Introduction to Phonology*. London: Longman.
- Schane, S.A. 1973. *Generative Phonology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Spencer, Andrew. 1996. *Phonology: Theory and Description*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Semantics
Code – B2

(40+10 Marks)

Module I

Some general observations: basic concepts of semantics, pragmatics and their relationship; types of meaning; some important assumptions: sentence, utterance and proposition; reference, sense and denotation; logical relations between propositions: concepts of paraphrase, contradiction, entailment; ambiguity and presupposition; theories of meaning—referential vs. non-referential approaches; generative approach; notions of lexical and structural semantics.

Semantics of words: relationship between form and meaning— lexical sense relations; similarity, opposition and inclusion; componential analysis of meaning; concept of collocation and set: lexical gap and semantic field; linguistic relativity; colour terms: marked vs. unmarked terms.

Module II

Introduction to Logical Semantics: formalisation, logical metalanguage; Model-theoretic and Truth-conditional semantics, aspects of truth-conditional meaning and the tools used to analyze them; propositional and predicate calculus: concept of predicates, Predicate and Arguments; Logical Quantifiers, restriction and scope; Logical Connectives; Semantic categorisation of sentence elements.

References

- Allwood, J. and O. Dahl 1977. *Logic in Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chierchia G. and McConnell-Ginet S. 1993. *Meaning and Grammar: An Introduction to Semantics*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Cruse, D. A. 1997. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: CUP
- Jaszcsolt, K. M. 2002. *Semantics and Pragmatics: Meaning in Language and Discourse* London : Longman
- Kearns, K. 2000. *Semantics*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lappin, S. (ed.) 1997. *The Handbook of Contemporary Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Leech, G. 1974. *Semantics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, J. 1995. *Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Palmer, F.R. 1981. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saeed, J. I., 2003. *Semantics*. Blackwell

Ullmann, S. 1972. *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. London: Basil Blackwell.

Indo-Aryan Linguistics I and Bengali Linguistics I (20+20+10 Marks)
Code – B3

Module I
Indo-Aryan Linguistics I

Indo-Aryan: Origin of Indo-Aryan; different stages of Indo-Aryan: OIA, MIA and NIA; dialectal divisions of OIA.

Phonology: OIA sounds and their developments in MIA and NIA; Phonological processes in OIA, MIA and NIA. Sandhi-development in Indo-Aryan. Indo-Aryan Accent: its development in Indo-Aryan.

References

Beames, J. 1872-79 (reprinted 1970). *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*.

Bloch, J. 1930. Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology. *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*. 5.4: 719-56.

Bloch, J. 1965. *Indo-Aryan* (English translation by Alfred Master). Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Bloch, J. 1970. *The Formation of the Marathi Language*. (English translation by Dev Raj Chanana). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Chatterji, S.K. 1926. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.

Chatterji, S.K. 1960. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*. Calcutta: Firma KLM

Grierson, G.A. 1931-33. *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*. Indian Antiquary.

Hoernle, A.F. 1880. *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*. London. Rubner. (Reprinted 1991. Asian Educational Services, New Delhi).

Tessitory, 1916. *Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani*. Indian Antiquary. Bombay: Indian Antiquary Publication.

Thumb, A. 1953. *Handbuch des Sanskrit* Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Turner, R.L. 1972. *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Turner, R.L. 1975. *Collected Papers 1912-1973*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Module II
Bengali Linguistics I

Origin of the Bengali Language with special reference to Magadhan group of languages.

Different stages of Bengali language and their documents; Comparative linguistic study of different stages; Bengali dialects and their features; Bengali vocabulary with special emphasis on loan words; Origin of the Bengali sounds; Classification of the Modern Bengali sound system; Syllable structure of Modern Bengali; Cluster pattern of Modern Bengali; Different important phonological processes in Bengali; Suprasegmental features in Modern Bengali.

References

- Basu, D. N. 1975. *Bānlā Bhāṣār Ādhunikattva O Itikathā* (The Modern Principles and History of the Bengali Language). Calcutta: Puthipatra.
- Basu, D. N. 1976. *Functional Analysis of Old Bengali Structures*. Calcutta: Basudha.
- Bykova, E.M. 1981. *The Bengali Language*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1921. *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*. London: University of London.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1928. *A Bengali Phonetic Reader*. London: School of Oriental Studies.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1974. *Bānlā Bhāṣātattver Bhūmikā* (An Introduction to Bengali Linguistics). 8th edn. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1979. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta: Rupa.(reprint)
- Majumdar, P. C.1992. *Bānlā Bhāṣā Parikramā* (Development of the Bengali Language). Vol I. Calcutta: Dey's.
- Majumdar, P. C.1993. *Bānlā Bhāṣā Parikramā* (Development of the Bengali Language).Vol II. Calcutta: Dey's.
- Sen, S. 1987. *Bhāṣār Itivṛtta* (The History of Language). Calcutta: Eastern. 12th edition. (Calcutta: Ananda 1996).
- Sen, S.K. 1971. *Proto-New-Indo-Aryan*. Calcutta: Eastern.
- Shahidullah, M. 1973. *Bānlā Bhāṣār Itivṛtta* (History of the Bengali Language). Dacca.

Historical Linguistics II and Schools of Linguistics / Language Typology (20+20+10 Marks)

Code – B4

Module – I

Historical Linguistics II

Development of the nineteenth century comparative historical linguistics and its impact on the study of language; Neogrammarian theory of Sound Change; Concept of Sound Shift and Sound law; Some common Sound law.

Sound Change and its basic concepts; Phonetic change and Phonemic change; Split and Merger; Conditioned vs. Unconditioned change; Regular vs. Sporadic; Types of change- Assimilation and other assimilatory sound changes, Dissimilation, Addition or Insertion, Loss or Deletion, Weakening, Metathesis, Coalescence etc.

Reconstruction – Comparative Method and Internal Reconstruction; Their scopes and limitations; Preliminaries of comparative method- cognate collection, establishing correspondences, reconstruction of the proto-form, reconstruction of

sound change etc; Concept of innovation and retention; Internal Reconstruction - morphophonemic alternations as source of reconstruction, recovering historical contrasts by comparing alternating and non-alternating paradigm.

References

- Aitchison, J. 1991. *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, G. 1973. *Structural Aspects of Language Change*. London: Longman.
- Anttila, R. 1989. *An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. 2nd edn. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Arlotto, A. 1981. *Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. Washington, DC: University Press of America. (Reprinted).
- Baldi, P. (ed.) 1990. *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bloomfield, L. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Bhat, D.N.S. 2001. *Sound Change*. 2nd edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bynion, Th. 1977. *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, L. 1998. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crowley, T. 1992. *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. 2nd edn. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Hock, H.H. 1986. *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hock, H.H. and Joseph, B.D. 1996. *Language History, Language Change and Language Relationship*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hockett, C.F. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- Jeffers, R.J and I. Lehiste 1979. *Principles and Methods of Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- King, R.D. 1969. *Generative Grammar and Historical Linguistics*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Labov, W. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lehmann, W.P. 1962. *Historical Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Lehmann, W.P. and Y. Malkiel (eds.) 1968. *Directions for Historical Linguistics*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- McMohan, A.M.S. 1994. *Understanding Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trask, R.L. 1996. *Historical Linguistics*. London: Arnold.

Module – II

Schools of Linguistics

Early linguistic thoughts in India and Europe – Contributions of Panini, Bhartṛhari, Dionysius Thrax and Varro...

Development of Linguistics from 1786 to 1957 – Comparative Philology, Structuralism – The Prague School, The Copenhagen School, The Moscow School, The London School.

References

- Bynon and Palmer (eds.). *Studies in the history of Western Linguistics in honour of R. H. Robins*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Culler, Jonathan. 1976. *Saussure* (American Title: Ferdinand de Saussure). London: Fontana Modern Masters, Brighton, Harvester.
- Hymes(ed.), 1974. *Studies in the history of Linguistics: Traditions and paradigms*. Bloomington : Indiana University Press.
- Koerner and Asher (eds.). *Concise history of the language sciences: From the Sumerians to the cognitivists*. New York : Pergamon.
- Lehmann, W.P. (ed.). *A reader in nineteenth-century historical Indo-European linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lepschy, G (ed.) 1994. *History of Linguistics II. Classical and Medieval Linguistics*. Longman.
- Matthews, P.H, 2001. *A Short History of Structural Linguistics*. CUP
- Robins, R.H. 1993. *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History*. Mouton De Gruyter.
- Robins, R. H. 1979. *A Short History of Linguistics*. London: Longman. 2nd edn.
- Roy Harris and Talbot J. Taylor 1989. *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought: The Western Tradition from Socrates to Saussure*. London: Routledge.
- Sampson, Geoffrey. 1980. *Schools of Linguistics*. Stanford : Stanford University Press.
- Taylor, D.J. 1987. *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*. Benjamins

OR

Module – II Language Typology

Basic concept of Language Universals; Approach of Chomsky and Greenberg; Classification of language universals.

Language Typology; Word order typology - Greenberg's model with special reference to South Asian Languages.

South Asian Language groups- salient features, classification; approach towards semantic universals with reference to South Asian Languages.

Concept of Linguistic Area; Major Linguistic Areas of the World, South-Asia as a Linguistic Area.

References

- Abbi, A. 1991. *India as a Linguistic Area Revisited* (A special Volume of Language Sciences). Tokyo: Pergamon.

- Abbi, A. 1994. *Semantic Universals in Indian Languages*. Shimla: IIAS.
- Bazell, 1985. *Linguistic Typology*. London: SOAS.
- Bhaskararao, P. and K.V. Subbarao 2001. *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*. London: Thousand Oaks.
- Bhat, D.N.S. 1999. *The Prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Comrie, B. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Croft, W. 1990. *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Emeneau, M.B. 1980. *Language and Linguistic Area*. Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press.
- Gair, J.J., B.C. Lust, K.V. Subbarao and K. Wali (eds.) 2000. *Pronouns and Lexical Anaphors in Selected South Asian Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hawkins, J.A. 1983. *Word Order Universals*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lehmann, W.P. 1978. *Syntactic Typology: Studies in Phenomenology of Language*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Masica, C.P. 1976. *South Asia as a Linguistic Area*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sapir, E. 1921. *Language*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Song, J.J. 2001. *Linguistic Typology, Morphology and Syntax*. New York: Longman.

■ Semester III ■

Sociolinguistics

(40+10 Marks)

Code - C1

Module-I

Definition, Concepts and Frameworks: defining sociolinguistics, subject matter of sociolinguistics, sociolinguistics and sociology of language, macro and micro sociolinguistics, traditional dialectology and social dialectology, defining speech community, verbal and speech repertoire, restricted and elaborated codes, verbal deficit hypothesis.

Multilingualism and language contact: bilinguals and bilingualism – typologies, bilingual speech community, domains of language use, code-switching and mixing, language maintenance, shift and death, pidgin and creole, lingua franca, language loyalty, attitudes towards bilingualism.

Module II

Linguistic Variation: types of variation: standard, non-standard, social, regional and stylistic, variables: marker, indicator and stereotype, sociolinguistic approaches to the study of stylistic variation in language, how language reflects and maintains social stratification, local factors: social network and communities of practice Sociolinguistics of Interaction: communicative competence: ethnography of speaking, power and solidarity, introduction to face theory, linguistic politeness, intercultural communication, pronouns of power and solidarity, address terms, communication accommodation, diaglossia.

References:

Text books:

- Holmes, Janet. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman. 2nd edition.
- Meyerhoff, Miriam. 2006, *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1997. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 3rd edition. ***

Additional Reading:

- Coupland, Nikolas and Jaworski, Adam. (eds.) 1997. *Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Fasold, Ralph. 1984. *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fasold, Ralph. 1990. *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fishman, Joshua. (ed.) 1968. *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Labov, William. 2006. *Social Stratification Language in New York City*. Cambridge: CUP. 2nd edition.
- Romaine, Susan. 1995. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell. 2nd edition.
- Trudgill, Peter and Cheshire, Jenny. (eds.). 1998. *The Sociolinguistics Reader*. Volume 1: Multilingualism and Variation. London: Arnold.
- Relevant journal: (available in the University's online journal access system)
- Language and society, Cambridge University Press.
- <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=LSY>
- Additional references for specific topics will be supplied during the lectures.

Indo-Aryan Linguistics II and Bengali Linguistics II (20+20+10 Marks)
Code – C2

Module I

Indo-Aryan Linguistics II

Morphology: Development of Nominal system from OIA to NIA (Number, Gender, Case, Case-terminations).

Development of verbal system from OIA to NIA (Tense, Mood, Number, Person).

Nominalization from OIA to NIA.

Indo-Aryan Lexicon: Its historical development.

References

- Beames, J. 1872-79 (reprinted 1970). *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*.

- Bloch, J. 1930. Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology. *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*. 5.4: 719-56.
- Bloch, J. 1965. *Indo-Aryan* (English translation by Alfred Master). Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
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- Chatterji, S.K. 1926. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
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- Grierson, G.A. 1931-33. *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*. Indian Antiquary.
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- Tessitory, 1916. *Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani*. Indian Antiquary. Bombay: Indian Antiquary Publication.
- Thumb, A. 1953. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Turner, R.L. 1972. *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, R.L. 1975. *Collected Papers 1912-1973*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Module II

Bengali Linguistics II

Nominal system in Bengali: diachronic study of Number and Gender; Development of case system: origin of case endings; Bengali postpositions; Post-positional affixes; Diachronic analysis of Bengali personal pronouns; Diachronic study of the verbal system in Bengali; Origin and classification of Bengali verb roots; Basic ideas about Tense, Person, Number and Moods in Bengali; Sources of verbal endings; Compound verb and compound tense.

References

- Basu, D. N. 1975. *Bānlā Bhāṣār Ādhunikatva O Itikathā* (The Modern Principles and History of the Bengali Language). Calcutta: Puthipatra.
- Basu, D. N. 1976. *Functional Analysis of Old Bengali Structures*. Calcutta: Basudha.
- Bykova, E.M. 1981. *The Bengali Language*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1921. *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*. London: University of London.
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- Chatterji, S.K. 1974. *Bānlā Bhāṣātattver Bhūmikā* (An Introduction to Bengali Linguistics). 8th edn. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1979. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta: Rupa.(reprint)
- Majumdar, P. C. 1992. *Bānlā Bhāṣā Parikramā* (Development of the Bengali Language). Vol I. Calcutta: Deys.

- Majumdar, P. C. 1993. *Bāṅlā Bhāṣā Parikramā* (Development of the Bengali Language). Vol II. Calcutta: Deys.
- Sen, S. 1987. *Bhāṣār Itivṛtta* (The History of Language). Calcutta: Eastern. 12th edition. (Calcutta: Ananda 1996).
- Sen, S.K. 1971. *Proto-New-Indo-Aryan*. Calcutta: Eastern.
- Shahidullah, M. 1973. *Bāṅlā Bhāṣār Itivṛtta* (History of the Bengali Language). Dacca: Renaissance Printers.

Optional Paper

Old Indo-Aryan

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OC1

Module I

Development of Old Indo-Aryan from Proto-Indo-European via Indo-Persian; stages of Old Indo-Aryan; its features; Old Indo-Aryan dialects; grammarians' description of dialectal divisions of OIA. Distinction between the Vedic Language and Classical Sanskrit.

Phonology: Development of OIA sounds: different sources; ablaut, accent and Sandhi phenomena. Phonological processes in OIA: embryonic presence of phonological processes found in later stages of Indo-Aryan (MIA).

Module II

Morphology: Origin of OIA case endings; different sources and its own innovations; nominal and pronominal declensions; degrees of comparison: comparative and superlative degrees: their development from Proto-Indo-European sources.

Numerals: development of numerals from PIE and OIA innovations. Verbal system: finite verbs: endings, tenses, moods; voices: active, middle, passive; non-finite verbs: infinitives, gerunds, gerundives; participles: active and middle; nominalisation in OIA.

OIA lexicon: constituents of OIA vocabulary.

References

- Banerjee, S. R. 1987. *A Handbook of Sanskrit Philology*. Calcutta: Sanskrit Book Depot.
- Bloch, J. 1965. *Indo-Aryan: From the Vedas to Modern Times*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve. (English translation by A. Master).
- Burrow, T. 1955. *Sanskrit Language*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Edgerton, F. 1941. *Sanskrit Historical Phonology*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Ghosh, B. K. 1937. *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*. Calcutta: India Research Institute.
- Lanman, C.R. 2000. *A Sanskrit Reader*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. (Reprinted edition).

- MacDonnell, A.A. 1910. *Vedic Grammar*. Strasburg: (Indian edition: 1975. Delhi: Bhartiya Publishing House.).
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- Majumdar, P.C. 1994. *Samskr̥ta o Prākṛt Bhāṣār Kramabikāś* (Development of Sanskrit and Prakrit). Calcutta: Deys.
- Thumb, A. 1953. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*. Vol I. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Thumb, A. 1959. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*. Vol II. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Whitney, W.D. 1896, *A Sanskrit Grammar*. 3rd edn. Leipzig and London: (Reprinted 1965. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.).

Optional Paper

Middle Indo-Aryan

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OC2

Module I

Stages and Documents of MIA; Linguistic comparison between different stages; General linguistic features of MIA; Linguistic study on early MIA documents with special reference to Pali, Asokan Prakrit and Transitional MIA; Definition of the term 'Prakrit' and its classification; Concept of Literary Prakrit and its types; Linguistic features of different Literary Prakrits; Documents and linguistic features of Late MIA.

Module II

MIA Phonology: Phonological structure of MIA; Treatment of OIA vowels, consonants and clusters in MIA; Important phonological processes in MIA; MIA sandhi; MIA accent.

MIA Morphology: MIA declensional pattern—Development of Gender, Number and Case in MIA; Primary conjugation in MIA with reference to Present, Past and Future system.

References

- Bubenik, V. 1996. *The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Burrow, T. 1937. *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents*. London.
- Chatterji, S.K. 1983. *On the Development of Middle Indo-Aryan*. Calcutta: Sanskrit College.
- Geiger, W. 1943. *Pali Language and Literature* (English translation by B.K.Ghosh). Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- Katre, S.M. 1964. *Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Katre, S.M. 1965. *Some problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan*. Poona: Deccan College.

- Majumdar, P. C. 1994. *Samskṛta O Prākṛt Bhāṣār Kramabikāś* (Development of Sanskrit and Prakrit). Calcutta: Dey's.
- Mehendale, M.K. 1948. *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Pischel, R. 1957. *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language* (English translation by Subhadra Jha). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sen, S. 1960. *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Tagare, G.V. 1948. *Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa*. Poona: Deccan College. (Reprinted 1987. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).
- Upadhye, A.N. 1975. *Prakrit Languages and Literature*. Poona: University of Poona.
- Woolner, A.C. 1928. *Introduction to Prakrit*. Lahore. (reprinted: 1975. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Optional Paper

Discourse Analysis

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OG1

Module I

Introduction to the course
The study of discourse
Speech acts
Conversational implicature
Approaches to pragmatics

Module II

Genre Analysis
Critical discourse analysis
Discourse and culture
Applied discourse analysis

References

- Bakhtin, M.M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination*. (ed). Michael Holquist, tr. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M.M. 1986. *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*. (ed). C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bhatia, V. 1993. *Analyzing genre: Language use in professional settings*. London: Longman.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, P., & Yule, G. 1983. *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Chomsky, Noam and Herman, Edward S. 1994. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. London: Vintage.
- Cook, G. 1989. *Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Genette, Gerard. 1980. *Narrative Discourse*, (tr.) Jane.E. Lewin. Oxford:Blackwell.
- Halliday, M., & Hasan, R. 1989. *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jameson, Frederic. 1981. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. London: Methuen.
- Jaworski, Adam and Nikolas Coupland (eds.) 1999. *The discourse reader*. London: Routledge
- Mills, Sara. 1997. *Discourse*, London: Routledge.
- Leech, G. 1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Levinson, S. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricouer, Paul, 1984. *Time and Narrative*. (Translated by Kathleen McLaughlin, and David Pellauer). (Vol.I). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: New York.
- Stubbs, Michael. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Thompson, G. 1996. *Introducing functional grammar*. London: Arnold.
- Thomas, J. 1995. *Meaning in interaction: An introduction to pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Van Dijk, T. (Ed.) 1997a. *Discourse as structure and process*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. (Ed.) 1997b. *Discourse as social interaction*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Verschueren, J. 1999. *Understanding pragmatics*. London: Arnold.
- Voloshinov, V.N. 1973. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. (tr. Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik). New York : Seminar Press.
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., & Yates, S. J. (Eds.). 2001. *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London: Sage Publications
- Wierzbicka, A. 1991. *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Optional Paper

Psycholinguistics

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OG2

Module I

Psycholinguistics and linguistics; Objectives and methods; Different theoretical orientations: behaviourist, interactionist, innatist positions; Language and thought; Neurolinguistics: location of language and organization of brain; language disorders: aphasia, hemispherectomy, split-brain operation, stuttering, cluttering, deafness, voice disorder, dyslexia, autism, Down's syndrome, aging.

Module II

Developmental psycholinguistics; Milestones of 1st language acquisition; Different theories of learning; L2 learning; Factors affecting L2 learning.

Language processing: processes of comprehension and production; Comprehension of sounds, words and sentences; Parsing; Cognition; Different stages of production: conceptualization, formulation, articulation and self-monitoring.

References

- Aitchinson, J. 1991. *The Articulate Mammal*. 2nd edn. London etc.: Hutchinson.
- Bhat, R. 1991. *Psycholinguistics: An Introduction*. Karnal: Nataraj Publishing House.
- Caplan, D., R.A. Lecours & A. Smith (eds.) 1984. *Biological Perspectives on Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Carron, J. 1992. *An Introduction to Psycholinguistics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Chomsky, N. 1972. *Language and Mind*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Clark H.H. & E.V. Clark. 1977. *Psychology and Language*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
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- Klein, R.M. & P. McMullan (eds.) 1999. *Converging Methods for Understanding Reading and Dyslexia*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Lahey, M. 1988. *Language Disorders and Language Development*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lenneberg, B.H. 1967. *Biological Foundation of Language*. New York: John Wiley.
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- Miller, J.L. & P.D. Eimas (eds.) 1995. *Speech, Language and Communication*. New York: Academic Press.
- Oblér, L.K. & K. Gjerslow. 1999. *Language and the Brain*. Cambridge: CUP
- Slobin, D.I. 1974. *Psycholinguistics*. Glenview, Ill: Scott & Freeman.
- Steinberg, D.D. 1992. *Psycholinguistics: Language, Mind and World*. London & New York: Longman.

Optional Paper

Stylistics

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OG5

Module I

Basic concepts: notion of style and stylistics, nature and function of style, scope of stylistics, standard language vs. poetic language, speech vs. writing; basic

parameters for stylistic analysis, stylistics and sociolinguistics, concept of macro- and micro-stylistics.

Conceptual apparatus: registers and style, discursive vs. literary language, discourse and text grammars, code and message, structure and texture, signifier-signified-signification, coherence and cohesion, indeterminacy and ambiguity, deviation, foregrounding, and parallelism.

Module II

Nature and method of stylistic analysis: theories of stylistic analysis, classical vs. Western approaches for analysis--concept of Indian poetics, semio-linguistic and lingua-aesthetic approaches to stylistic analysis, stylistics of literary discourse--characterization of poetic, narrative and dramatic discourse, language and narrative, levels of stylistic analysis- phonological, lexical, syntactic and semantic, analysis of figurative language.

References

- Barthes, R. 1977. *Image-Music-Text*. London: Fontana.
- Bradford, R. 1997. *Stylistics*. London: Routledge.
- Chapman, R. 1973. *Linguistics and Literature*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Crystal, D and D. Davy 1969. *Investigating English Style*. London: Longman.
- Culler, J. 1975. *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eco, U. 1977. *A Theory of Semiotics*. London: Macmillan.
- Gargesh, R. 1990. *Linguistic Perspective on Literary Style*. Delhi: Delhi University Press.
- Genette, G. 1980. *Narrative Discourse*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Leech, G. 1969. *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*. London: Longman.
- Pfister, M. 1988. *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sharma, V.P. 1990. *Stylistics of Figurative Language*. Delhi: Delhi University Press.
- Spencer, J. and M.Gregory (eds.)1964. *Linguistics and Style*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Srivastava, R.N. 1993. *Studies in Language and Linguistics*. Vol II (Stylistics). Delhi: Kalinga.
- Turner, G.W. 1973. *Stylistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

■ Semester IV ■

Morphology II and Syntax II

(20+20+10 Marks)

Code – D1

Module I

Morphology II

Important word formation processes in English - Back-formation, Derivation, Reduplication, Conversion, Clipping, Acronymy, Blending, ; Compounding - Types and properties, Feature Percolation and Argument Linking Principle, Syntactic-Semantic approach in understanding compound formation; Productivity, Semi-productivity, Constraints on Productivity.

Problems in Morphemic approach, Centrality of Word concept; Basic insights from Lexical Morphology - lexical strata, stratum ordering, Derivation and Inflection in LM, lexical vs. post-lexical rules, Strict cycle condition; Bracket Erasure convention and Elsewhere condition.

References

- Adams, V. 1973. *An Introduction to Modern English word formation*. London: Longman.
- Akmajian, A., Demer R.A., Farmer A.K. & Harnish R.M. 1995. *Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Aronoff, M. 1976. *Word Formation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Bauer, L. 1988. *Introducing Linguistic Morphology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
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- Bhattacharya, K.1993. *Bengali-Oriya Verb Morphology*. Calcutta: Dasgupta.
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- Fromkin, V. et al. 2003. *An Introduction to Language*. 7th ed. Indian edition.
- Gleason, H.A. 1955. *Workbook in Descriptive Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Gleason, H.A.1970. *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
- Hall, R.1964. *Introductory Linguistics*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. (Reprint)
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- Jensen, J.T. 1990. *Morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Katamba, F. 1993. *Morphology*. London: Macmillan.
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- Lieber, R. 1981. *On the Organization of Lexicon*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
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- Matthews, P.H. 1974. *Morphology: An Introduction to the theory of Word structure*. Cambridge: The University Press.
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- Scalise, S. 1984. *Generative Morphology*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Selkirk, E. 1982. *The Syntax of Words*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Spencer, A. 1991. *Morphological Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Thakur, D. 1997. *Linguistics simplified: Morphology*. Patna : Bharati Bhawan.

Module II

Syntax II

Concept of Universal Grammar, Language Acquisition Device, Principles and Parameters; Fundamentals of GB theory - various sub-theories.

Concept of Subcategorization, Theta theory and Projection principle, C-selection and S-selection, theta criterion; Extended Projection Principle; X-bar theory, structure of lexical phrases and functional phrases.

Movement : NP movement, Wh-movement, Subject and Verb movement, concept of trace, constraints on movement; Case theory: concept of structural and inherent case, Adjacency and case assignment, case filter and visibility condition.

Basic Principles of Binding theory, Binding theory and Empty categories.

References

- Bhattacharya, S. 1998. *Sañjananī Vyākaraṇ* (Generative Grammar). Dhaka.
- Borsley, R D. 1991. *Syntactic Theory: A Unified Approach*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Chakraborty, U.K. 1992. *Bāmlā Bākyer Padaguccher Saṁgathan* (The Structure of the Noun Phrase in Bengali). Calcutta: Prama Prakashani.
- Chakraborty, U.K. 2000. *Bāmlā Samvartanī Vyākaraṇ* (Generative Grammar of Bengali). Kolkata: Shri Aurobindo Publication.
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- Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky N. 1981. Principles and parameters in syntactic theory. In: Hornstein and Lightfoot(eds), *Explanation in Linguistics*, London: Longman, p.123-46
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*. New York: Praeger.
- Cook, V. and M. Newson. 1996. *Chomsky's Universal Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.

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- Fromkin V. et al. 2003. *An Introduction to Language*. 7th ed. Thomson Wadsworth, Indian edition.
- Fromkin V.A. (ed) 2000. *Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Haegeman, L. 1994. *Introduction to Government & Binding Theory*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell
- Hockett, C.F. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. London: Macmillan (Indian edition: Calcutta Oxford & IBH.)
- Huddleston, R. 1976. *An Introduction to English Transformational Grammar*. London: Longman.
- Hyams, N. 1986. *Language Acquisition and the Theory of Parameters*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Jackendoff, R.S. 1977. *X-bar Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*. Cambridge : MIT Press.
- Jacobs, R. and P.S Rosenbaum. 1968. *English Transformational Grammar*. Ginn: Waltham. Mass.
- Jacobsen, B. 1978. *Transformational Generative Grammar*. 2nd edn. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
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- Langacker, R.W. 1972. *Fundamentals of Linguistic Analysis*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Lasnik, H. and J. Uriagereka. 1988. *A Course in GB Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Lyons, J. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Lyons, J. 1977. *Chomsky*. Glasgow: Fontana.
- Majumdar, A. 2000. *Studies in the Anaphoric Relations in Bengali*. Calcutta: Subarnarekha.
- McCawley, James D. 1988. *The Syntactic Phenomenon of English*. 2vols., Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Napoli, D.J. 1996. *Linguistics: An Introduction*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ouhalla, J. 1994. *Introducing Transformational Grammar. From Rules to Principles and Parameters*. Arnold: London etc.
- Poole, G. 2002. *Syntactic Theory*. New York: Palgrave.
- Radford, A. 1988. *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radford, A. 1997. *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radford, A. 1997. *Syntax: A Minimalist Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radford, A., M. Atkinson, D. Britain. H. Clahsen and A. Spencer. 1999. *Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.

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- Thakur, D. 1998. *Syntax*. Patna: Bharati Bhawan.
- Verma, S.K., N. Krishnaswamy. 1989. *Modern Linguistics*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Webelhuth, G. (ed.) 1995. *Government and Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program*. Oxford.
- White, L. 1989. *Universal Grammar and Second Language Acquisition*. Amsterdam: Benjamin.

Field Methods
Code – D2

(40+10 Marks)

Module I

Purposes and techniques of field-methods in linguistics; Questionnaire preparation; Different types of questionnaire; Selection of informant; Elicitation techniques; Data collection, transcription, organization, analysis, and preservation; Use of instruments; A brief reference to fieldworks conducted in India.

Module II

Current linguistic scenario of India: demography and geography with special reference to the Census data; Training in collection, analysis and description of linguistic data.

References

- Abbi, A. 2001. *A Manual of Linguistic Fieldwork and Structure of Indian Languages*. Munich: Lincoln Europa.
- Banthia, J.K. 2004. *Language Atlas of India – 1991*. Census of India.
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- Chambers, J.K. and P. Trudgill. 1980. *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- Emeneau, Murray B. 1964. India as a Linguistic Area. in: *Language in Culture and Society*. Dell Hymes (ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1971. *Language Structure and Language Use*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gudschinsky, Sarah C. 1964. ABCs of Lexicostatistics (Glottochronology). in: *Language in Culture and Society*. Dell Hymes (ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Francis, Nelson. 1980. *Dialectology*. London: Longman.
- Itagi, N.H. & S.K. Singh. 2002. *Linguistic Landscaping in India*. Mysore: CIIL.
- Khubchandani, L.M. 1991. *Language, Culture and National Building: Challenges of Modernization*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.

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- Samarin, W.J. 1996. *Field Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Searle, John. 1969. *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shuy, R.W., W.A. Wolfram & W.K. Riley. 1968. *Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study*. Washington DC: Center of Applied Linguistics.
- Solbin, D. (ed) 1967. *A Field Manual for Cross Culture Study of the Acquisition of Communication Competence*. Berkeley: ASUC.
- Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.

Optional Paper

New Indo-Aryan

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OC3

Module I

Evolution of NIA; Classification of NIA languages - inner and outer classification, historical and geographical classification; Characteristics of NIA group of languages.

NIA phonology - comparative and historical perspective; Development of the OIA phonological structure in NIA; Accent in NIA; Some important phonological processes in NIA.

Module II

Nominal system of NIA - number, gender, case and pronoun; Verbal system of NIA - tense, mood, number, aspect, concord; Compound verb and compound tense; Linguistic study of important NIA languages; Comparative study of the Magadhan languages; Non-Aryan influence on NIA; NIA numerals; NIA lexicon; Concept of 'linguistic area' with special reference to India as a linguistic area.

References

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- Sen, S.K. 1971. *Proto-New Indo-Aryan*. Calcutta: Eastern.
- Tiwari, U. N. 1960. *The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society.

Optional Paper

**Textual Analysis of Indo Aryan
Code – OC4**

(40+10 Marks)

Module I

1.1 Old Indo-Aryan specimens [15]

MacDonell, A.A. 'A Vedic Reader for Students'- Agni, Indra, Pusan

Lanman, C.R. 'Sanskrit Reader' – Prose no IV, V, XVII

(Any three from the above two books)

1.2 Middle Indo-Aryan specimens [10]

Chatterji, S.K. and Sen, S. 'A Middle Indo-Aryan Reader'-

Piece Number 1, 5, 20, 32,42,54,56

(Any three from the above list)

Module II

2.1 New Indo-Aryan specimens [10]

Sen, S. 'Caryagitipadavali' - Song Number 1,2,5,7, 8,10,27,33

(Any five from the above list)

2.2 Grammatical notes [15]

OIA 5 marks

MIA 5 marks

NIA 5 marks

References

Chatterji, S.K and Sen, S. 1953. *A Middle Indo-Aryan Reader* (Part I). Calcutta: Calcutta University press.

Lanman, C.R. 2000. *Sanskrit Reader*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.

MacDonell, A.A. 1992. *A Vedic Reader for Students*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.

Sen, S. 1995. *Caryāgītīpadāvalī*. Calcutta: Ananda Publishers.

Optional Paper

Language and the Nation

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OG3

Module I

Linguistic Diversity and Language Policy in India

Evolution of a language policy:

(a) Language policy under the British

(b) Language and the National Movement

(c) The constitutional framework

(d) The issue of a common official/link language

Module II

Language and ethnicity

Language and identity

Texts and the Nation – Reading Anandamath

References

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- Stedman, Jones, 1983. *Gareth. Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History. 1832-1983*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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Journal Articles:

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Optional Paper

Language Teaching

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OG4

Module I

Linguistic theory and Language teaching: different approaches; language description, concept of grammar and language teaching.

Methods of Language teaching: Grammar translation method, Direct method. Structural approach. Audio-visual method, Eclectic Method, Communicative approach, other approaches.

Module II

Application of linguistic principles to Language-teaching, four different language skills, pattern practice, contrastive analysis, error analysis, cultural understanding.

Technological aids, audio-visual aids. Language laboratory. Language Testing: Techniques of tests, kinds of tests, construction and use of tests. Programmed instruction. Techniques types, programming language materials.

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Optional Paper

Lexicography

(40+10 Marks)

Code – OG6

Module I

Theoretical Lexicography and lexicography: Lexicon and grammar; Linguistics and Lexicography: Theoretical dictionary and practice Dictionary; Lexical units - form and function; sememe, lexeme, words, vocable and term, item and system; structure of lexeme-simple and composite units; nature of combination - set and free; types of set combination - derivative, collective, multiword, compounds proverbs, idioms, quotations Meaning - denotative and connotative, lexical and grammatical collocational and contextual; form and meaning - polysemy, Synonymy, homonymy, hyponymy, taxonomy, componential analysis.

Module II

Variation in Language – dialectal and sociodialectal, standard and non-standard

Types and purposes of practical dictionaries - Encyclopedic vs. Linguistic, synchronic vs. diachronic, restricted vs. non- restricted, monolingual vs. bilingual, multilingual etc.

Dictionary making - selection, arrangement and presentation of entries, labeling, sequence of senses, arrangement of information within the entry.

Planning and organization - variables use and users, organizational and operational set up, mode of collection of materials and source of materials, use of automatic data processing.

References

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- Jackson, H. 1988. *Words and their Meaning*. London and New York: Longman
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